THE QUAID-E-AZAM

A PICTORIAL BIOGRAPHY

EAST & WEST PUBLISHING COMPANY

THE QUAID-E-AZAM

— a pictorial biography



FATHER OF THE NATION

Portrait by Sheikh Ahmed, the only painter for whom the Quaid-e-Azam sat.

THE QUAID-E- AZAM

A PICTORIAL BIOGRAPHY

Rafique Akhtar

ewp
EAST & WEST PUBLISHING COMPANY
KARACHI-LAHORE
1976

22, Corner Chambers,
I.I. Chundrigar Road,
Karachi 0102
Phone 212036

Typography by Ma'aref Ltd., Karachi
Printed at Afrasia Printing Press, Karachi

Foreword

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah—tall and towering, handsome and heroic, dashing and dominant, incorruptible and invulnerable, practical and pragmatic—was a man of high principles and great probity. He was an able advocate, a leading lawyer, a profound parliamentarian and a super-statesman.

Mrs. Freeth, wife of the late Major-General G.H.B. Freeth, Deputy Adjutant-General, who met Mr. Jinnah at a dinner-party at Viceregal Lodge in Simla, wrote to her mother on May 29, 1929: "After dinner, I had Mr. Jinnah to talk to. He is a great personality. He talks the most beautiful English. He models his manners and clothes on Du Maurier, the actor and his English on Burke's speeches. He is a future Viceroy, if the present system of gradually Indianising all the services continues."

According to the *Statesman*—"seemingly as hard as a diamond he had all the diamond's brilliance". As the *Times* commented: "Few statesmen have shaped events to their policy more surely than Mr. Jinnah. He was legend even in his lifetime." "The ifs of history", remarked Frank Moraes, "are fascinating, and if Mohammad Ali Jinnah had not taken it upon himself to lead a crusade for an Islamic land of the Pure, it is problematical whether Pakistan would even have been established." "Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life," wrote the late Aga Khan in his Memoirs, "Clemencean, Lloyds George, Churchill, Curzon, Mussolini, Mahatma Gandhi—Jinnah is the most remarkable. Quaid-e-Azam attained immortal fame as the man, who, without any army, navy or airforce, created by lifetime's faith in himself, crystallized into a single bold decision, a great empire of upwards of a hundred million people." President Truman had observed: "Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah was the originator of the dream that became Pakistan, architect of the State and father of the world's largest Muslim Nation. Mr. Jinnah was the recipient of a devotion and loyalty seldom accorded to any man."

Here is a pictorial biography of Quaid-e-Azam—an illustrated story of the illustrious person. The brief biographical account summarises and surveys the salient events of his chequered career. Quaid-e-Azam, his father, brother and sisters, his charming wife, his associates, the Viceroys, Gandhiji and other political leaders of the Subcontinent, the historic sessions of Lucknow and Lahore and the various important meetings are fully reflected in the rare collection of the photos.

The publishers must be profusely congratulated on this pictorial biography which is being published to commemorate the centenary of the Quaid-e-Azam.

Karachi, **Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada**
August 14, 1976.

Preface

There is a great dearth of literature on Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Pakistan Movement. For the last three decades no serious attempt has been made to project the correct ideology of Pakistan and its great architect with the result that our younger generation has only a smattering of knowledge of the most significant movement stretching over a period of two centuries.

This is the first effort to present a pictorial biography of the Quaid-e-Azam for the easy understanding of the Father of the Nation who was selfless, with sound constitutional and legal brain, remarkable parliamentary skill, determination, matchless integrity and character.

I do not claim any originality. Anyone who has the time, patience and the inclination to go through all the books, reports and records that I have consulted, would be able to gather this material. After all, a large part of history is really the compilation, presentation and re-writing of old and known facts. But as far as the Quaid-e-Azam is concerned, not many facts—old or new—are known to people in this country. It is a pity that no Pakistani historian has so far turned his attention to this subject in its entirety. There is much to dig and find.

I hope that this effort would be appreciated as this volume gives the general reader a competent, attractive one-volume epitome of the Quaid's life that has been so long needed.

Rafique Akhtar



Wazir Mansion, Karachi - birth place of the Quaid-e-Azam.

Born at Karachi on December 25, 1876, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was the first child of his parents. Providence entrusted him to shape the destiny of the Muslims of the subcontinent. He did this job very honestly and faithfully.

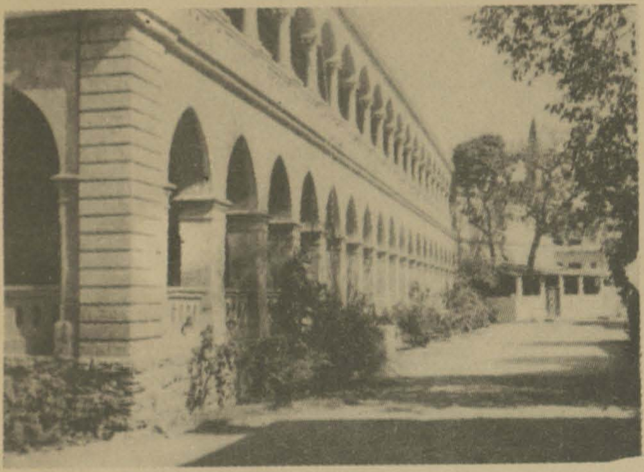
While his father, Jinabhai, belonged to a trading family of Kathiawar, his mother, Shirin Bi (or Mithi Bi, as her in-laws used to call her) had



Jinabhai, father of
the Quaid.

an Iranian blood in her veins. Gay, handsome and dashing, he was the favourite of his mother and an object of admiration to the tiny community of Khojas to which his father belonged. Trade and commerce were the life blood of the Khojas. Jinnah's father had prospered and established a reputation of fair dealings in the city of Karachi.

The child, who brought happiness and cheer to the family, was considered as a special gift from God. From the very childhood, he was very brilliant and had a sharp brain. After completing his primary education in Gujrati language at the Infant Vernacular School, he was



Sind Madarsatul Islam,
Karachi.



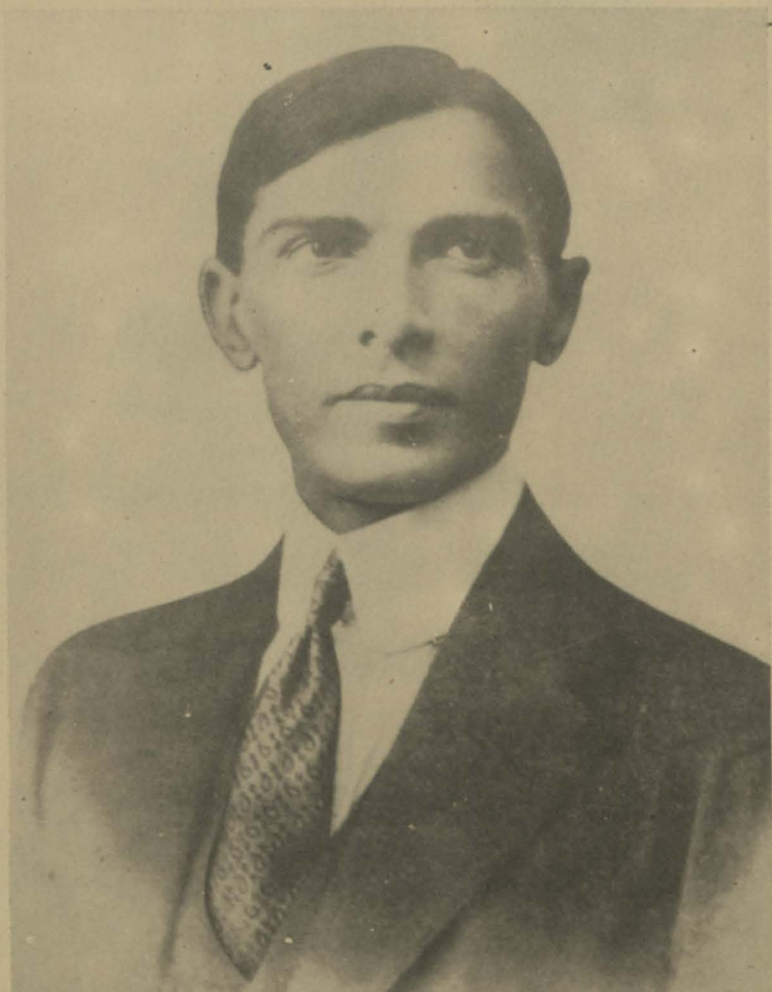
Church Mission High School, Karachi.

admitted to Sind Madrasatul Islam on July 7, 1887. He had to leave this school in January, 1891 for he was going to be married with a child-bride, Amarat Bi, picked out for him by his family. Though reluctant, he had to yield to the wishes of his mother whom he loved the most. In May 1892, following a preliminary test, he had got admission in the Church Mission High School at Karachi.

From very early years, Mohammad Ali Jinnah displayed a marked interest in the life and conditions around him. Even at the tender age of

fifteen, with limited knowledge and immature wisdom, he was known to hold forth to an audience twice his age and to keep them spell-bound in discoursing upon the merits or demerits of some local events in Karachi.

The family naturally expected that young Mohammad Ali Jinnah would take over the mantle of his father and continue the business traditions so zealously built up by him. But Jinnah's ambition was different. In December 1892, the tearful parents had bidden farewell to



At an early age.



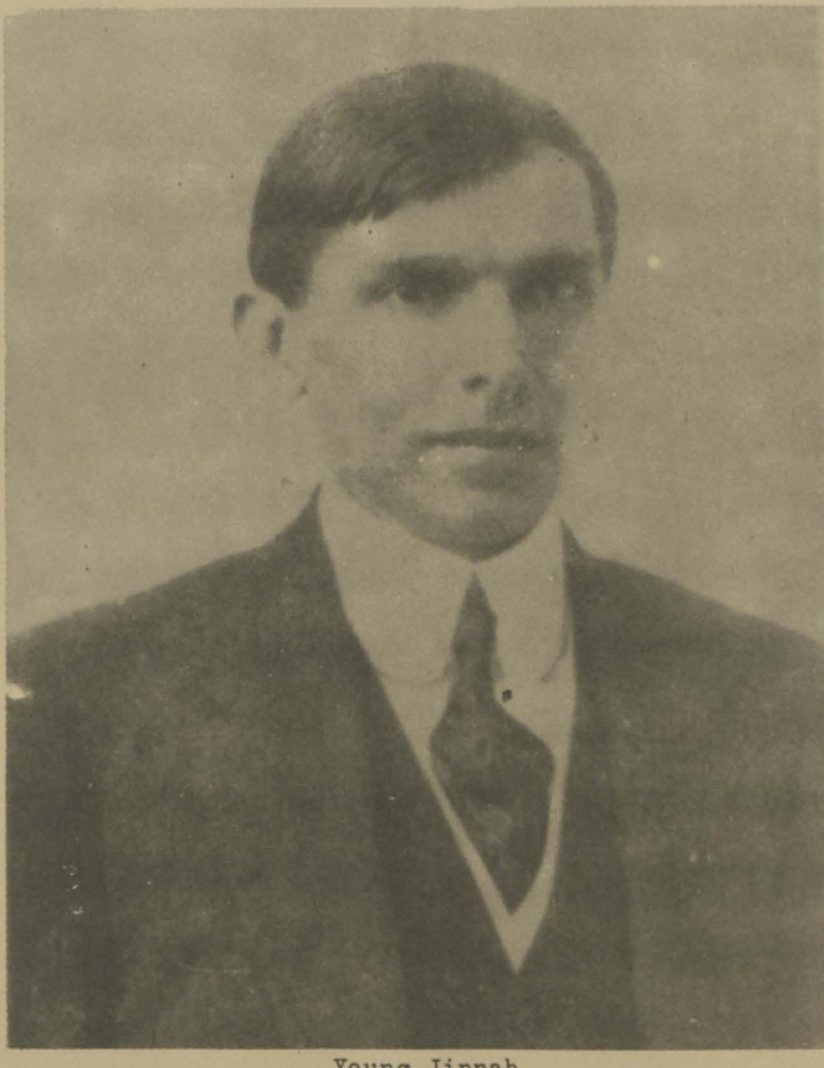
In traditional Khoja dress.

their loving son on a voyage to England at the very tender age of sixteen. He was sent there to open and establish commercial contacts, but it appears Jinnah had a different object in his mind.

While in England, his life was marked for diligence, discipline and deep study. He observed that Indian students were strangers to each

other. He sincerely felt that only an Indian Students' Association could bring them together. (And this he had done later during his visit to London in 1913 under the name of Students' Central Association). However, with pluck and determination, he settled down in his new surroundings and became accustomed to Western ways and habits of life.

After his efforts at picking up business had proved abortive due to the difficulties his father had begun experiencing in Karachi, Jinnah decided to join Lincoln's Inn, where he was admitted on June 5, 1893. He did not join any university but during most of his spare time, he used to go to the library of the British Museum for reading and studying the lives of great religious and political thinkers.



Young Jinnah

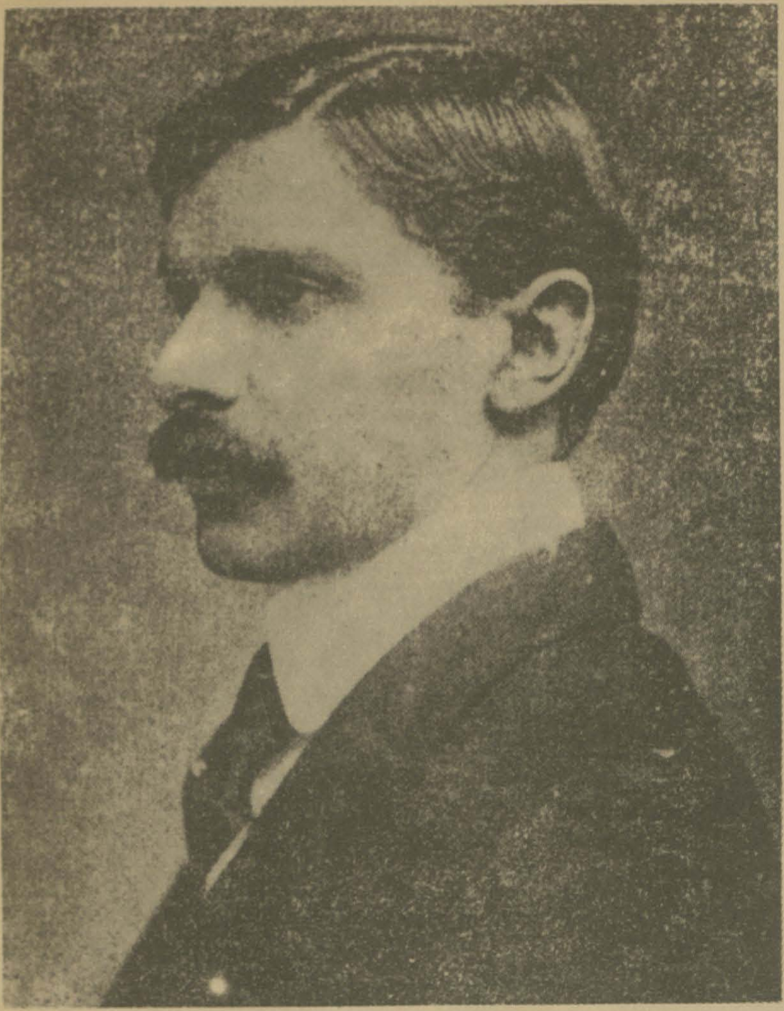


Lincolns' Inn, London.

His four years' stay in England is an important period of his life. The Government of India Act of 1892 had provided for the enlargement of Indian Provincial Councils on the basis of election. A number of Englishmen had begun to think that India and Indians had deserved better treatment. Public opinion in England was being influenced by the Indians who were residing there at the time. Among whom Dadabhai Naoroji, the founder-President of the Indian Society and a member of the British House of Commons, was most prominent.



Jinnah the barrister



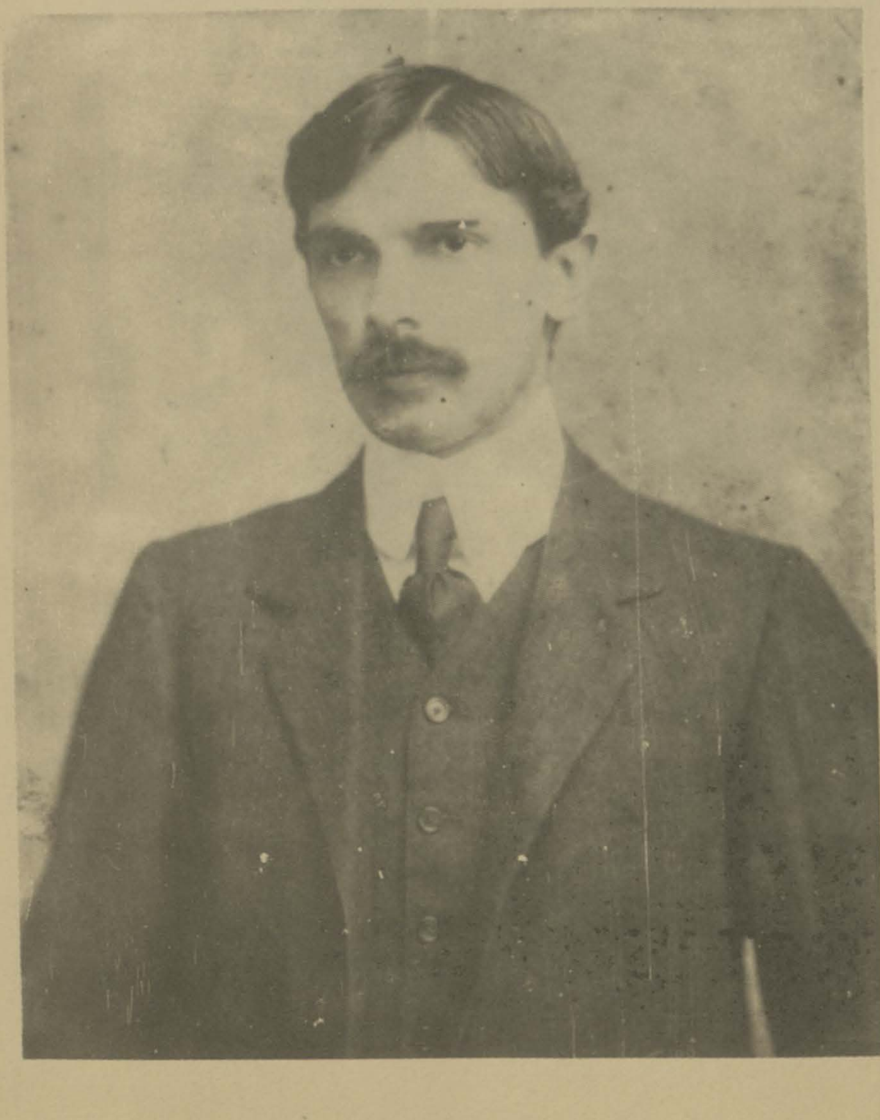
Barrister,
Bombay High Court.

Jinnah had impressed Dadabhai Naoroji. He had also become associated with public life in England. Dadabhai Naoroji had seen with his experienced eye that if properly groomed and guided, Jinnah would go far indeed. It was under his tutelage that Jinnah received his first lessons in politics and public life. His contacts with Naoroji continued long after.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was called to Bar in 1896 at the very early age of twenty. The same year he returned to India. About time he was to return home, the family business was not going too well. Some

imprudent undertakings had involved his father in difficulties. Jinnah, when he returned, he found him a ruined and a broken man. But this was not the worst. His father had also entered into some transactions in his son's name. These too had gone wrong. Jinnah had not only to face financial difficulties but also litigation. He faced his opponents undaunted. In conducting and winning his own case he registered his first triumph in the practice of law.

Having his professional ambition in view, he found Karachi too small a field for his legal practice. In early 1897 he shifted to Bombay to set up practice at the High Court. The first three years were a period of severe hardship and trials. But patience and determination to succeed soon bore fruit. The young barrister was introduced to Mr. Macpherson,



Presidency
Magistrate,
Bombay.



Ahmad Ali Jinnah
with his wife



the then acting Advocate-General of Bombay. He granted him permission to use his library. This was the starting point which soon set him on the road to success. Occasional briefs now began to dribble in. And the obscure young lawyer began to establish his mettle and started to lay the foundation of his undoubted success and fame which cornered the entire country.

In 1900, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was appointed Presidency Magistrate against a temporary vacancy for three months. The tenure was extended by another three months. He conducted the proceedings of the Court with utmost ability and skill. His judgements too were sound. On November 3, 1900, Sir Charles Olivant, the then Member in charge of the Judicial Department, requested him to make himself available for future. With usual smile on his face, he thankfully declined the offer and returned to the Bar.



The loving sister,
Fatima Bai.

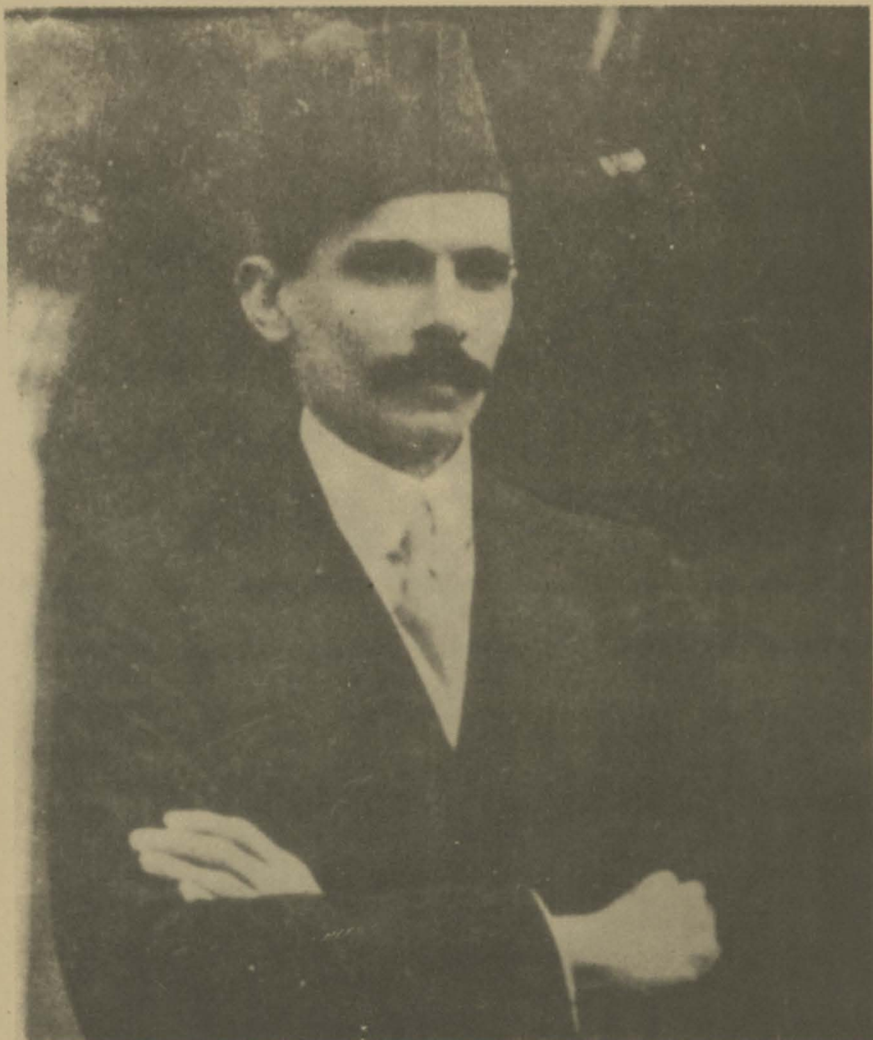
His father had died in 1902. His two out of four sisters were married. Rahmat Bai was married to Qasim Jamal, while Marriam Bai was married to Abedin Pirbhai. The responsibility of the remaining family fell on his shoulders. They all shifted to his house in Kolaba. The family consisted of his two sisters, Shirin Bai and Fatima Bai and a brother Ahmad Ali. In 1904, Shirin Bai was married to Currim Jafferbhoy. Fatima Bai was admitted to Bandra Convent Boarding School while Ahmad Ali to the Anjuman-i-Islam High School. Fatima Bai, being the youngest sister, was very close to Jinnah. He used to visit her every Sunday and used to give her a joy ride in his horse carriage. She passed Senior Cambridge at the age of 17 and Ahmad Ali got through his Matriculation. Both were sent to Calcutta for higher education. Fatima Bai was admitted in Ahmad Dental College. She became a dentist in 1923. Thereafter she opened a dental clinic at Abdul Rahman Street, Bombay. Jinnah used to persuade Fatima to marry but she did not listen to him.

After the death of Mrs. Rutty Jinnah, she had closed her clinic and had started living with his brother. She looked after Jinnah till his death. On August 9, 1947, speaking at a dinner given by late Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Jinnah had acknowledged by saying:

> "Miss Fatima Jinnah is a constant source of help and encouragement to me. In the day when I was expected to be taken as a prisoner by the British Government, it was my sister who encouraged me, and said hopeful things when revolution was staring me in the face. Her constant care is about my health."



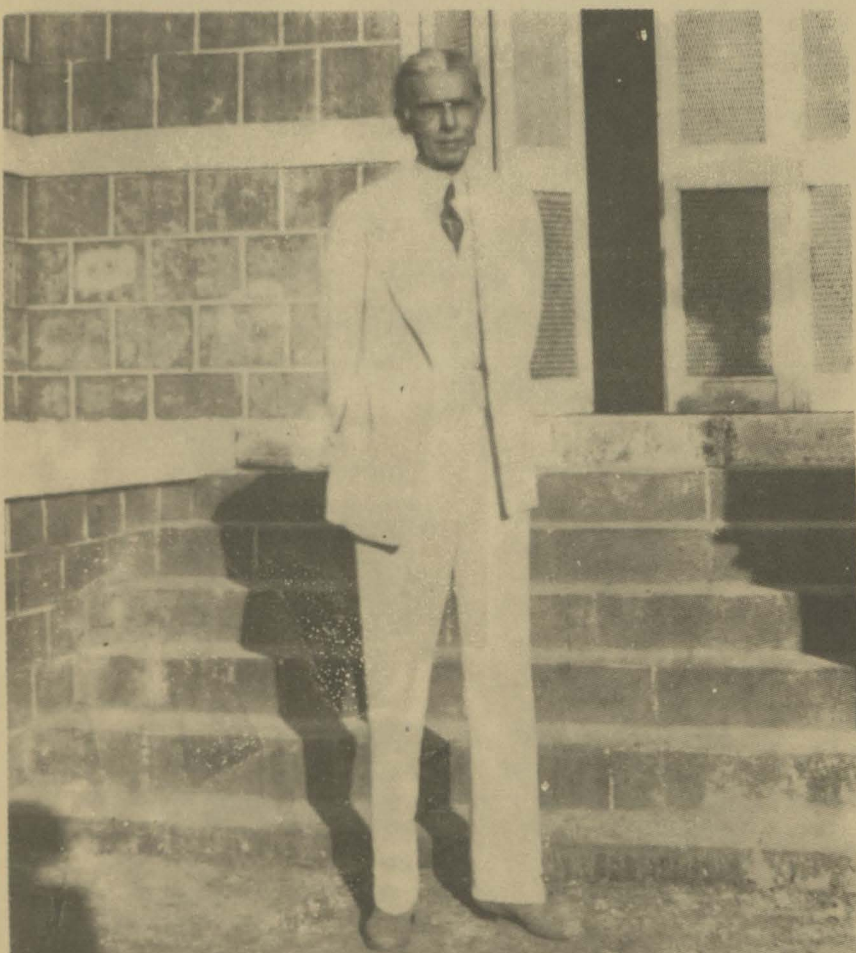
Mohtarma
Shirin Bai



Jinnah, 1916

He gradually established himself in the legal profession and gained recognition. Distinguished lawyers and men, many years senior to him, had acknowledged him their master in the art of advocacy. He had an uncanny ability of making the most complex facts, simple and obvious. He could be ferociously aggressive or almost boyishly persuasive as the occasion demanded. Besides, he possessed a remarkably clear head and a fund of common sense — that most uncommon of qualities.

Jinnah's talent and genius attracted the attention of Sir Pherozshah Mehta, a barrister of repute, who was engaged in an important case of a Hindu leader, Ganga Dhar Tilak. Being unable to attend to it personally, he handed over the brief to Mohammad Ali Jinnah giving him preference over other leading barristers around him. He handled it ably and intelligently and soon reached the height of his fame in the profession.



In Kashmir



In Kashmir

Relieved of the anxiety of comparative penny, Mohammad Ali Jinnah had become free to take active part in public affairs. Hitherto, he was merely a spectator of the political developments in the country. Gifted with a unique and characteristic style of speaking, this gift he had carried into every shpere of his life. He had the triple assets of a magnetic presence, an impressive delivery and a voice. With unusual powers of persuasion, clear exposition, pointed arguments and keen insight, he had earned for himself an enviable reputation as a great debater.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah set his feet on to practical politics from the Congress platform. In 1906, Dadabhai Naoroji, invited him to attend the

Annual Session of the Congress held in Calcutta. He was given a prominent seat among the Congress stalwarts. Thus from the very beginning, he became a first ranking leader of the party. In 1894, a decision of the Privy Council had paralysed the personal law of the Musalmans, as a result whereof the institution of Wakf-alal-Aulad was hit hard. His mind was in revolt against the measure since then. Now the opportunity had knocked at his door to do something about it. And he strongly supported the resolution on this subject in this session, a measure which later gave prominence to his name. It was more than a chance. It was the voice of his heart. He also made a forceful speech on the question of self-government for India.



On a holiday



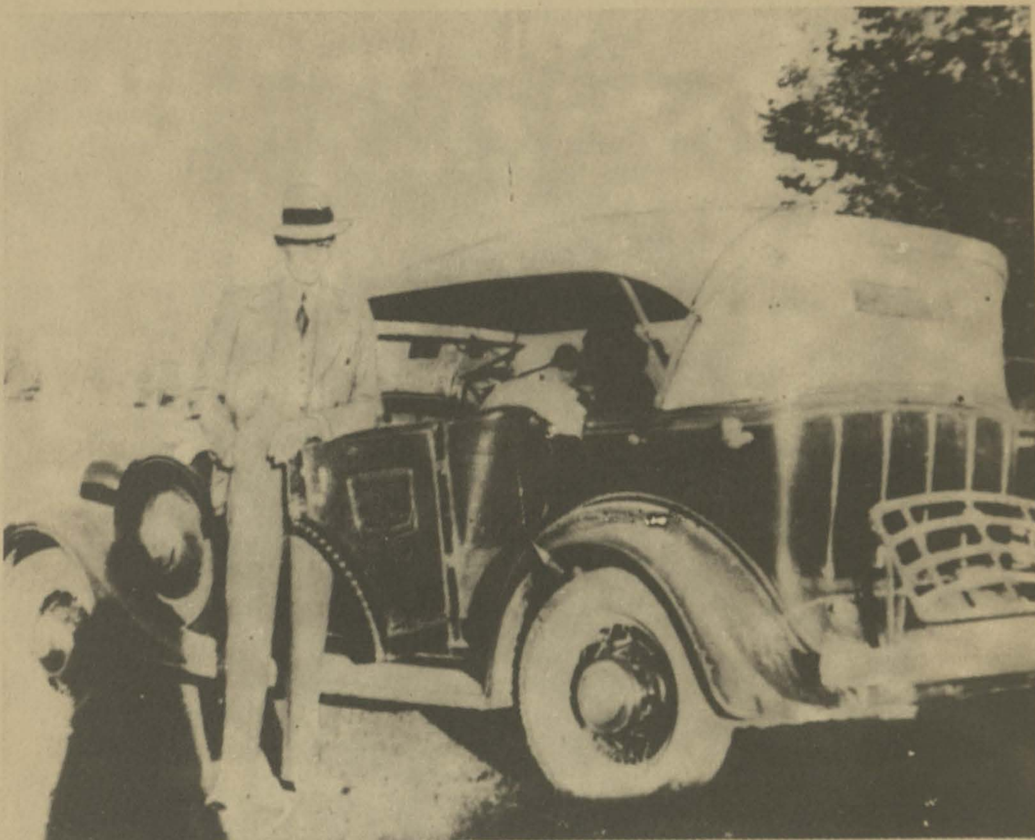
On horse-back in Gulmarg

The Congress was divided among people of conflicting opinions. The militants, wanting Hindu rule, were led by Tilak. The moderates, who preached for constitutional reforms, were led by Gokhale and Pherozshah Mehta. Like Dadabhai Naoroji, Jinnah was of liberal temperament. He put his weight on the side of the moderates. On the hand, the Musalmans were struggling hard to get themselves established

as a separate entity. They had smelled that sooner or later the Congress would be swamped by the Hindu majority in their demand for a Hindu Raj. Their apprehension was not wholly unjustified in view of the activities and utterances of some powerful and influential Hindu leaders. They felt that things might end up against the interests of the Muslim minority who deemed advised to keep themselves out of the Congress.



Gay, handsome and dashing



His last motor car

The Musalmans were equally disorganised. Their salvation lay in organising themselves; and then taking part in public affairs *en bloc*. Having in view the above background, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had founded the M.A.O. College at Aligarh, Muslim Educational Conference and Defence Conference.

The administrative arrangements of the boundaries of Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa, known as the partition of Bengal, envisaging in the creation of the province of East Bengal and Assam in 1905, had found the leaders of the Hindu and Muslim communities of the said provinces in two opposing camps. The Hindus had observed it as a day

of mourning, while the Muslims had pledged to maintain the integrity of the new province. On the call of the Congress, the anti-partition agitation had spread all over India. While the Muslims, to secure the future of the new province, had started a campaign to enlist sympathy and support of the Muslim leaders of other Indian provinces and to take steps to organise themselves on an all-India basis.

Meanwhile, in July 1906, over a difference of opinion with the Government of India on the subject of two Hindu-managed schools, Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Lieutenant-Governor of the new province of East Bengal, resigned. A Muslim public meeting was held at Dacca on



In Kashmir



Brother and sister

August 5, 1906 to protest against the acceptance of Fuller's resignation. It was attended by some leading Muslim leaders from other provinces, too. It is uncertain whether the question of forming an all-India political party was discussed at this meeting or not. However, only a month later, Muslim leaders from various provinces held a meeting at Lucknow on September 15-16, under the Chairmanship of Sir Rafiuddin Ahmad, to consider the formation of a political party. The meeting was

primarily concerned with the drafting of a memorial to be presented to Lord Minto, the Viceroy, on October 1, 1906, by a deputation at Simla. The memorial laid emphasis on the demand for separate electorates for Muslims and employment of the Muslims, in adequate number, in Government services.



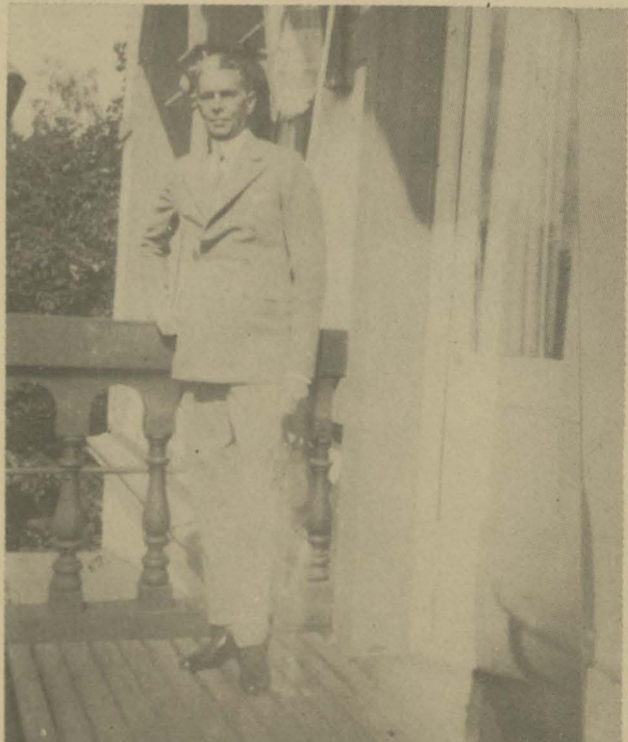
Hon'ble M.A.Jinnah



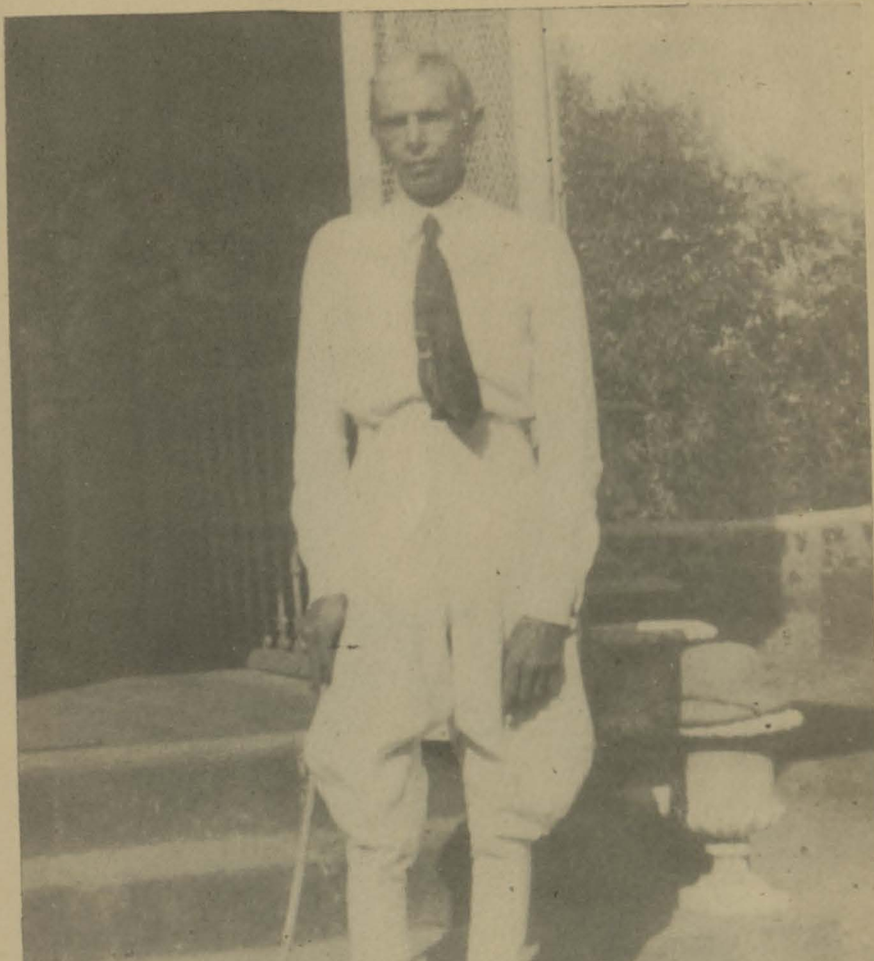
In Kashmir

Nawab Salimullah of Dacca was, however, dissatisfied over not mentioning directly the problem of Bengal in the memorial to Lord Minto. He, therefore, took the first concrete step towards the formation of a Muslim organisation. In November, 1906, he circulated his scheme for the formation of the Muslim All-India Confederacy. The scheme was the embryo from which the Muslim League had emerged. After the regular session of the Muslim Educational Conference at Dacca, on December 30, 1906, Nawab Salimullah's scheme became the basis of discussion among the participants of the Conference. The principle of the Nawab's scheme was adopted and the policy approved.

A public meeting was held the same day in Dacca. And on the motion of Nawab Salimullah, it was decided that the All-India Muslim League should be formed for the furtherance of the Muslim cause. The report of the formation of the new party was welcomed by the Muslims throughout the subcontinent. Very soon its branches were set up all over India. The London branch of the League was set up in May 1908 with Syed Ameer Ali as its President and Dr. Mohammad Iqbal and Dr. M. A. Ansari among members of the Committee.



In a house-boat



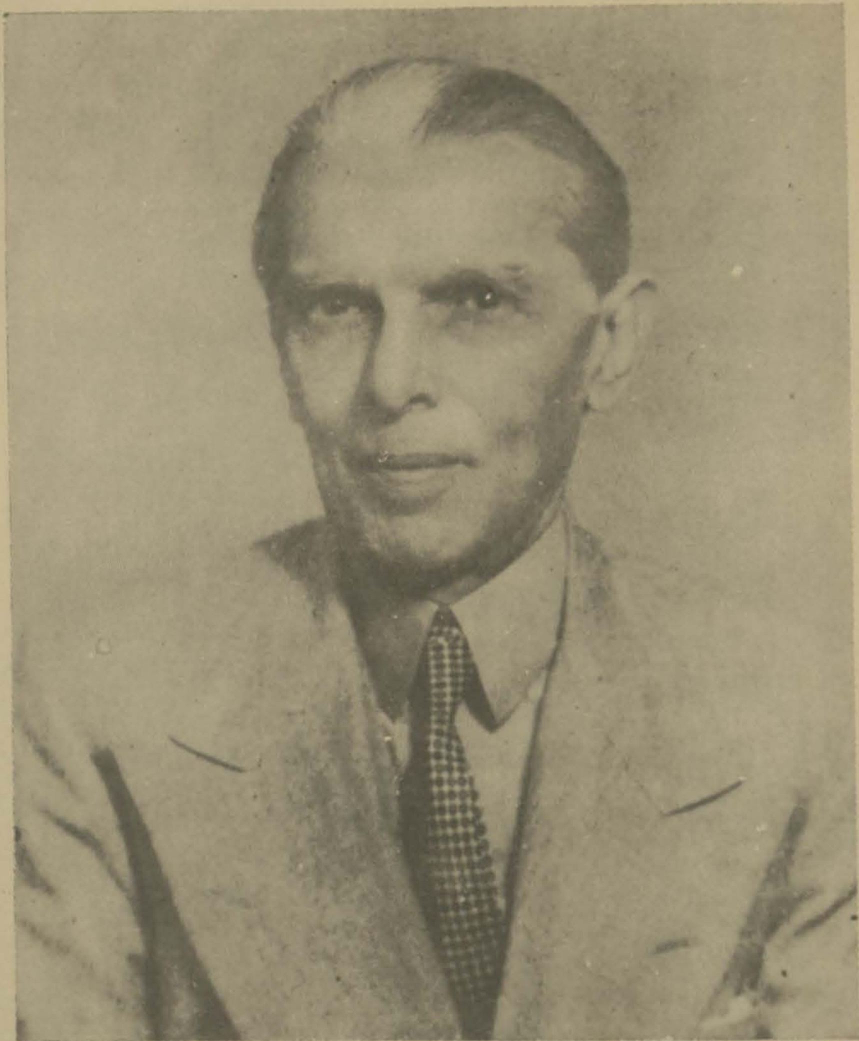
In riding dress

On March 24, 1908, the Muslim League presented a memorandum to the Viceroy giving its reactions to the scheme for the creation of Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils as per Government of India's announcement of August 24, 1907. It agreed with the principle of class representation in the Councils. In the meantime, Minto-Morley Reforms were announced. On the basis whereof the Government of India Act of 1909 was enacted. The Muslim League expressed its satisfaction, but at its Nagpur Session held on December 28 and 30, 1910, it demanded that the principle of communal representation should be extended to Municipal and District Boards and other self-governing public bodies.

In the autumn of 1909, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council from a Muslim constituency of Bombay on the system of separate electorates. Therefore, as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, he earned the gratitude of progressive opinion in India in supporting liberal measures of undoubted national importance. Piloting the intricate and controversial Wakf Validating Bill successfully through the Imperial Legislative Council was one of the many outstanding performances that stand to his credit. Throughout his whole parliamentary life he remained an ardent advocate of freedom.

Enjoying a holiday in Kashmir





A portrait

As is common knowledge, Muslims as a community were ever passionately faithful to their own spiritual traditions. Hereafter, they began to take notice of their political inheritance. The period of aloofness and hatred towards the alien rulers, which had characterized their attitude ever since the 1857 War of Independence, was short-circuited and an era of harkening to their own responsibility in shaping their future destiny

was heralded. Jinnah in those days kept himself apart from the Muslim League as, according to him, it was sectarian in its outlook. But the Musalmans were keenly following his moves and speeches. They had left a deep impression on them.

The partition of Bengal was annulled in November 1911 and it came as a great shock to the Musalmans. Far and above that, armed conflict in Iran, the Balkan war, the failure of the British Government to establish a university at Aligarh of the desired pattern of Muslims and Britain's



With Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad



Relaxing

anti-Turkish policies compelled the Musalmans to revise their policies towards the British Government. It was in this background that a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League was convened at Bankipur (Bihar) on December 31, 1912. The Council passed a resolution recommending that the ideal of the nation should be "the attainment, under the aegis of the British Crown, the system of self-government suitable to India by co-operating with other communities". At its Sixth Annual Session held at Lucknow on March 22-23, 1913, the change in the creed of the organisation, as recommended by its Council, was ratified.

Although Mohammad Ali Jinnah had by that time not yet become a member of the Muslim League, he had attended both the meetings of the Council and its Sixth Session as a special guest. It was mainly through his efforts that the creed of the League was changed, and the above resolution passed, emphasising the promotion of harmonious relationship and co-operation among the various communities of India. An interesting feature of this League Session was that it was attended by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and many other Hindu leaders.



With Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang



Leaders of Muslim India gathered at the annual session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference at Lucknow on December 28, 1912. (sitting l to r) Sahibzada Altaf Ahmad Khan, Raja Tasadduq Rasool of Jehangirabad, Raja Abu Jafar of Pirpur, Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, H.H. the Aga Khan, Raja Ali Mohammad of Mahmud-abad, the Quaid-e-Azam, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Nawab Ishaq Khan and Nawab Syed Mohammad Ali.

The efforts of Mohammad Ali Jinnah in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity attracted the attention of both the Hindu and Muslim intelligentsia. His ardent patriotism and love for Hindu-Muslim unity had earned for him the tributes from his Congress colleagues. Gokhale said: "He had true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudices will make him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity." His most ardent admirer, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, said: "Never was there a nature whose outer qualities provided so complete an antithesis of its inner worth. Tall and stately, but thin to the point of emaciation, languid and luxurious of habit, Mohammad Ali Jinnah's attenuated form is the deceptive sheath of a spirit of exceptional vitality and endurance."

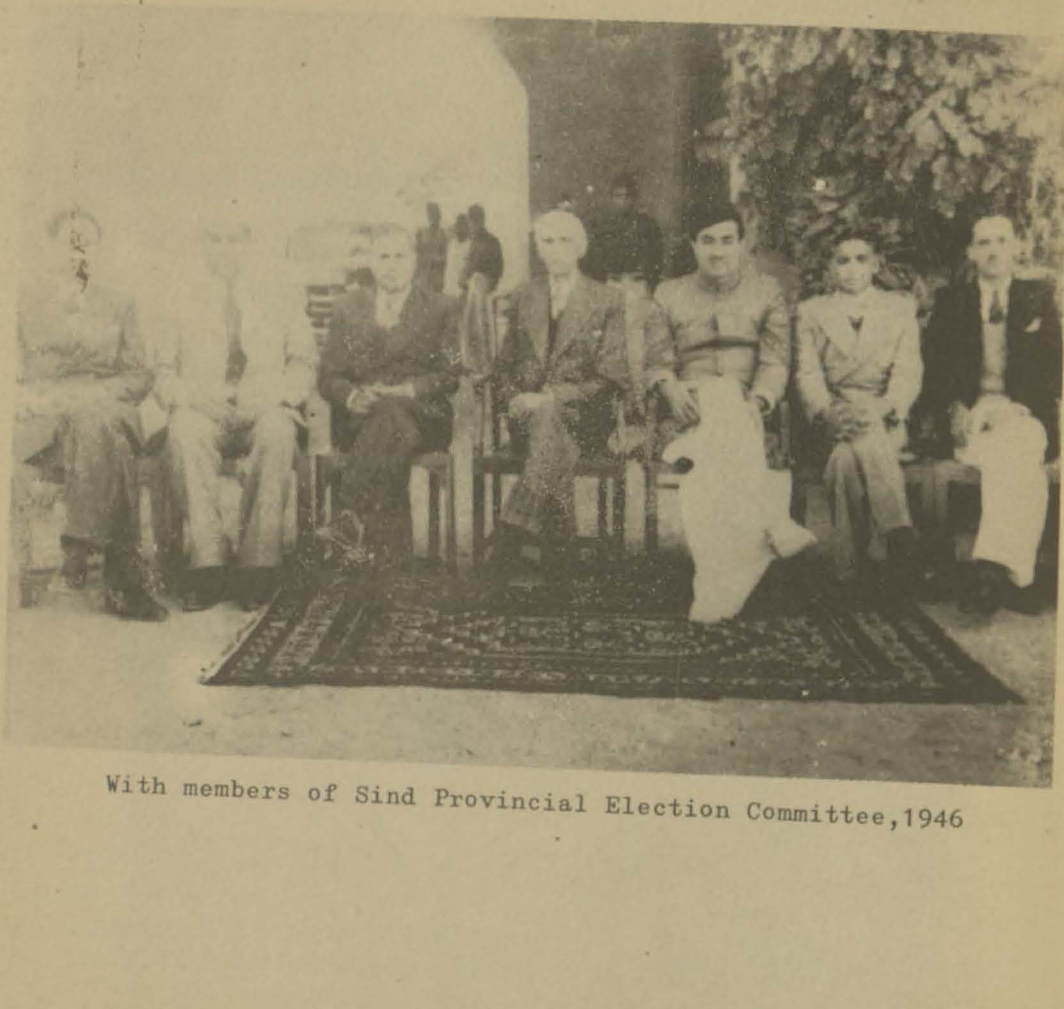
The Congress at its annual session held at Karachi in December 1913 passed a resolution, moved by Bhopendra Nath Basu, appreciating the adoption by the Muslim League of the ideal of self-government for India,

within the British Empire, and endorsed the plea of the League for harmonious co-operation between the two communities. Jinnah thus brought the Muslim League in line with the Congress policy in attaining the above ideal.

Having won a universal recognition and admiration at home, Jinnah left for Europe in April 1913 for a long, idle holiday with Gokhale.



In Simla, 1946

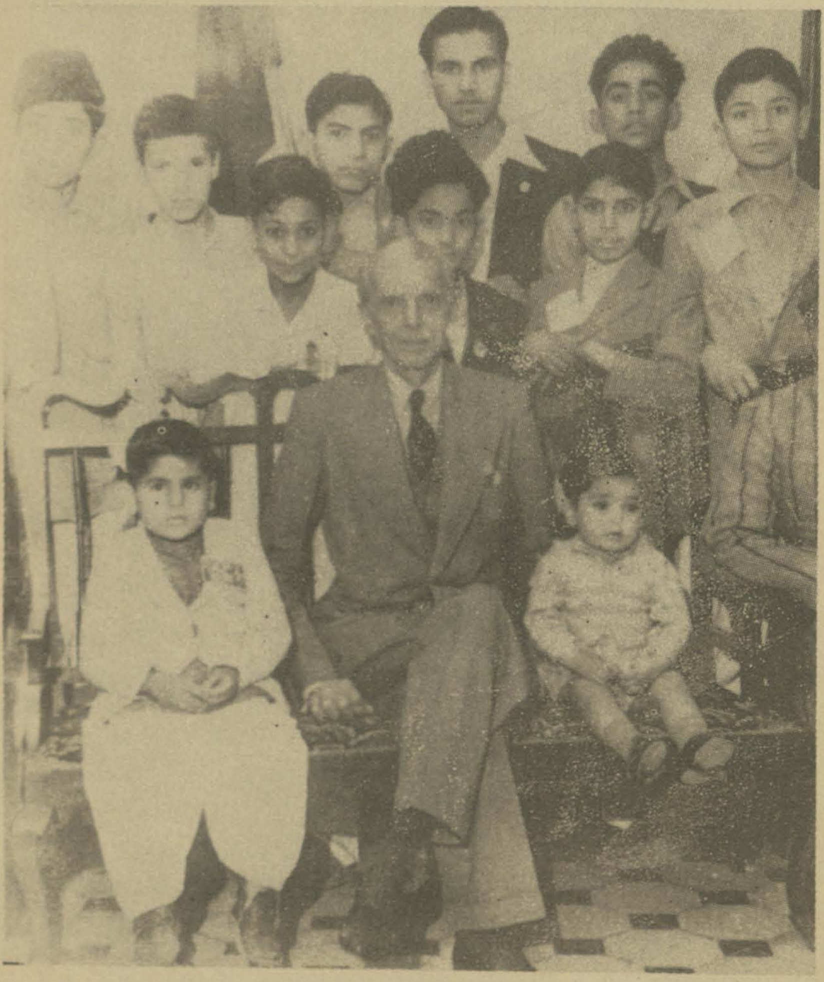


With members of Sind Provincial Election Committee, 1946

According to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu "once in England, however, there was no rest for this tireless worker". After setting up the Students Central Association on June 28, 1913, he advised them to get rid of the caste system which was responsible for the backwardness of their country.

While the events in various Islamic countries were engaging the attention of the Indian Musalmans, an ugly incident of Masjid Machhli Bazar, Cawnpore took place on August 1, 1913. There was a move to straighten and widen certain roads in the city of Cawnpore. The situation was such that if the road was to follow a straight line, the Hindu temple

in the Bazar had to be demolished. This was not done due to Hindu majority in the Muncipal Board. A portion of the mosque, was, however, demolished under the shadow of police bayonets. This caused great resentment among the Musalmans throughout India. Their representations to the authorities and even to the Viceroy met with callous disregard for Muslim religious susceptibilities. On August 3 they risked their lives and tried to rebuild the demolished portion. The police and troops indiscriminately opened fire, killing many and seriously wounding many more. A deputation of the Musalmans, led by the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad,



A happy moment with children



With Sir Ebrahim Currimbhoy and Sir Wazir Hasan

had met the Lieutenant-Governor of U.P., Sir James Meston, on August 16 but he stuck to his Government's stand. Finding no justice at home, the Muslim League, in September 1913, sent a deputation consisting of Maulana Mohammad Ali and Sir Wazir Hasan to England. But the Secretary of State for India or any other member of the British Cabinet refused to receive them as it had approached the British Government over the head of the Government of India.

However, the deputation was not altogether unsuccessful. It achieved its object of educating the British public opinion and enlightening the British Press with the conditions prevailing in India and the views and feelings of the Musalmans. Before the deputation returned to India, it had achieved yet another remarkable success which later greatly affected the destiny of the Musalmans of India in general and the Muslim League in particular. As mentioned above, Mohammad Ali Jinnah at that time was in London. His friends, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Sir Wazir Hasan, called on him and persuaded him to join the Muslim League as there as no reason now for him to keep away from it. Jinnah was formally enrolled as a member of the Muslim League in London. In



Addressing the workers



At the inauguration of Bombay Provincial Muslim League Conference, April 6, 1941

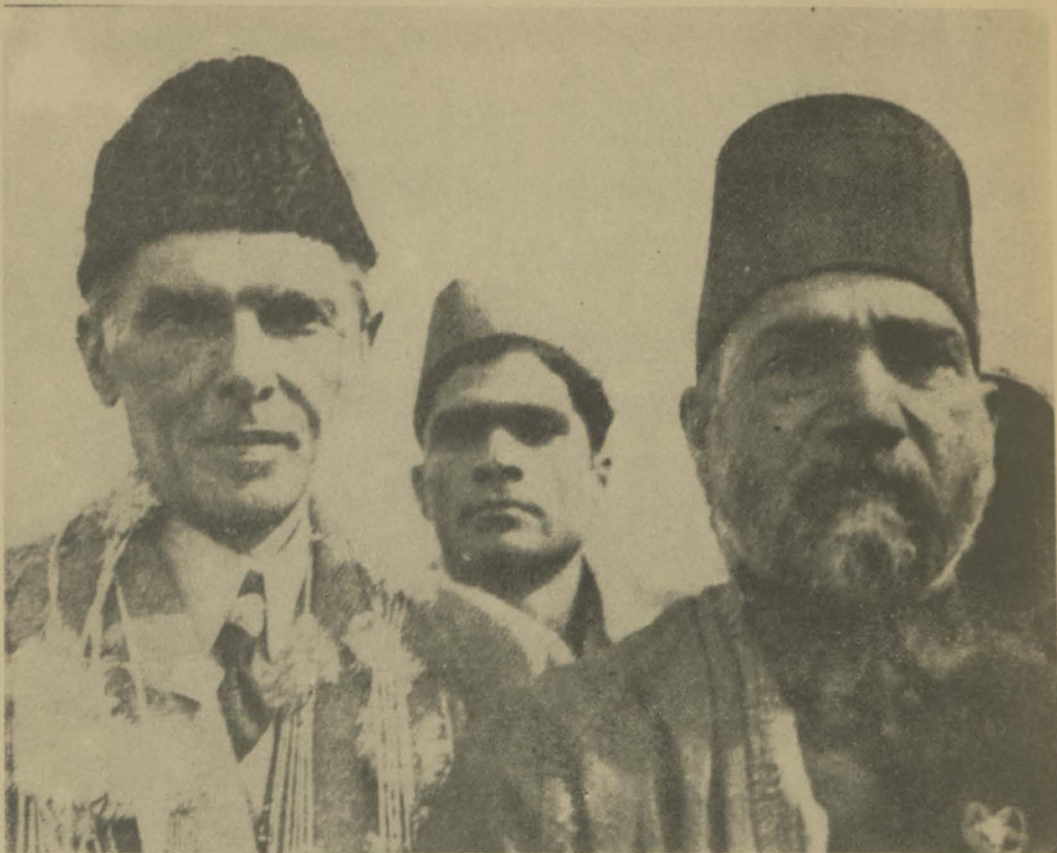
keeping with his high sense of honour, he, however, had made it a condition precedent that loyalty to the Muslim League and Muslim interests would in no way and at no time imply disloyalty to the larger national cause to which he had dedicated his life. This simple ceremony in a London hotel proved to be a turning point in the course of the future destiny of the entire subcontinent.

From now on he took a leading part in the counsels of the Muslim League and with that broad vision and absence of all sectarian bias, he led it along the path of greater national honour and welfare. Jinnah had always strived to bring about a real and lasting understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims, the two major elements in the Indian body politic. He was convinced, and rightly so, that no real progress was possible without such an understanding.

The outbreak of the First World War brought a rapid change in the outlook of the Indian Muslims. Turkey had sided with Germany and Ali Brothers were interned. The activities of the Government of India had an adverse effect on the feelings of Indian Muslims. The change was



An intimate talk with the students at Mamdot Villa, Lahore



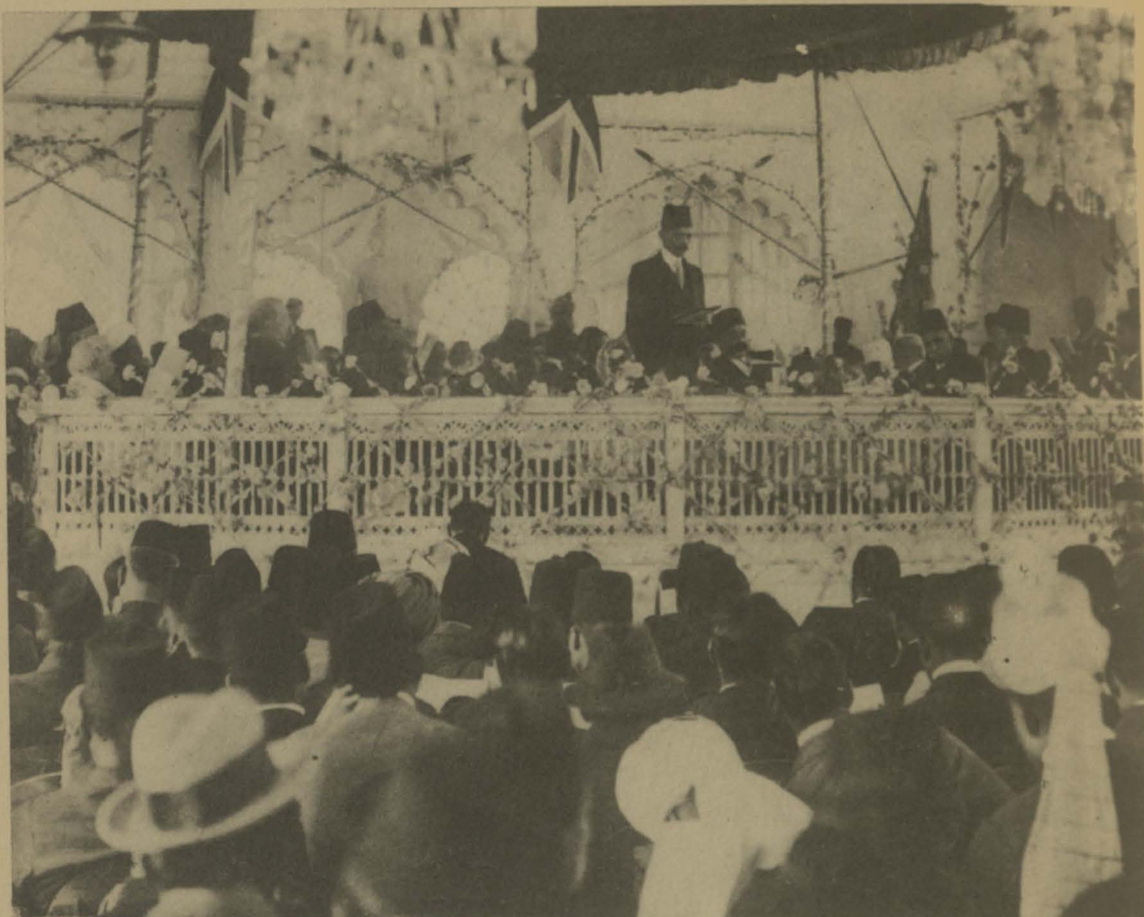
With Maulana Zafar Ali Khan

clearly visible in the Eighth Session of the Muslim League held in Bombay on December 30, 1915. Incidentally, the same year the Congress was to hold its session at Bombay. Jinnah invited the Muslim League to hold its session at the same place and in the same year. The League session was attended by many prominent Congress leaders, including Lord Sinha, Surendra Nath Bannerji, Annie Besant, Pandit Madan Mohan Malawiya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Gandhi as special guests. Long before the meeting began, police took up position both inside and outside the hall. When Jinnah rose to move his resolution for the appointment of a Committee to formulate political demands, in consultation with the

Congress leaders, the meeting was broken up with the connivance of the police officers present there. The rest of the proceedings were, however, conducted at the Taj Mahal Hotel. This session brought the League and the Congress very close to each other. The Congress reciprocated the League gesture by authorising the All-India Congress Committee to confer with the League Council in order to formulate a joint scheme for self-government. The Congress-League dialogue started in April 1916 at Allahabad, and concluded at a joint meeting of the Congress Committee and the League Council in October 1916 at Calcutta.



Intimate Tete-a-Tete between the Quaid-e-Azam and Sir Abdullah Haroon on the occasion of Karachi Conference in October 1938. The third man is late Syed Sajjad Haider.



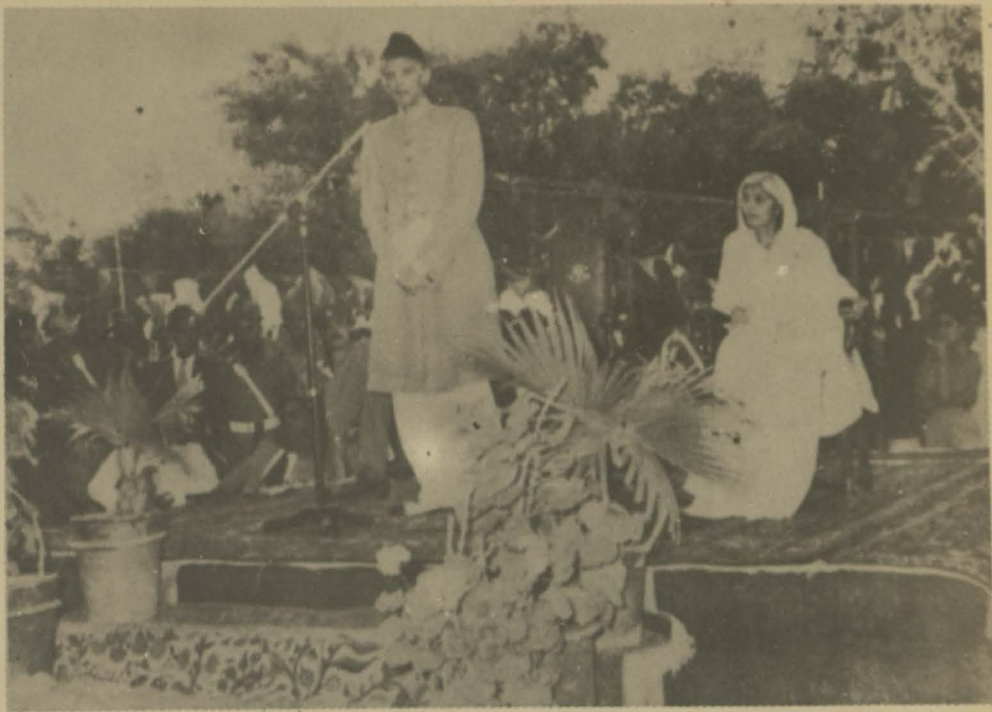
Addressing the historic 1916 Lucknow Session of the All-India Muslim League.

In 1916 both the Muslim League and the Congress held their sessions simultaneously at Lucknow. Jinnah did not stand in need of introduction to anyone. He had already made his mark in the public life of the country. His clear vision and ripe judgement, his cool, imperturbable temper, his sweet reasonableness, his fearless courage and devotion to duty had stood the test of time through various crises in public affairs. He was, therefore, for the first time, summoned to preside over this important session of the Muslim League. He pointed out that the League had stood abreast of the Congress "ready to participate in any patriotic effort for the advancement of the country as a whole". The

two organizations arrived at an arrangement, called the Lucknow Pact, on the future constitution of India. The Congress accepted the system of separate electorates and the Hindus and Muslims were to have weightage in provinces where they formed minorities. No bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution affecting a community was to be proceeded with in any Legislative Council, if three-fourth members of that community were opposed to it. In the Imperial Legislative Council, one-third of the seats were to be given to the Muslims.



Hindu and Muslim leaders at the historic sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow in December 1916. (sitting l to r) Mazhar-ul-Haq, Sir Chamanlal Setalvad, Sir S.P.Sinha, M.A.Jinnah, Bhupendra Nath Basu, Nawab Syed Mohammad. (standing l to r) Sir Wazir Hasan, Hasan Imam, Molvi Mohammad Yaqub, Raja of Mahmudabad, Syed Reza Ali.



From the public platform

In 1917, a joint meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Congress Committee was held in Bombay. It was decided that a representation be made to the British Parliament to implement the scheme of reforms enacted by the Congress and the League. It was also demanded that an authoritative pronouncement be made by the British Government in unequivocal terms regarding the policy of making India a self-governing member of the British Empire after the end of the war.

A joint meeting of the Council of the Muslim League and the Congress Committee was again convened at Allahabad on October 6, 1917. It resolved to send a representative deputation to call on the Viceroy and the Secretary of State and to present a memorandum on the

basis of the Congress-League Reforms Scheme. The deputation did as desired in November and demanded the fixation of time-limit for the grant of complete self-government to India. At the December Session of the Muslim League, these demands were reiterated. Addressing the session, Jinnah had declared: "This country has not to be governed by the Hindus, and let me submit, that it had not to be governed by the Muslamans either — and certainly not by the English. It is to be governed by the people and the sons of the country."

The Montague-Chelmsford proposals were made public in July 1918 which included the suggestions:

(a) The Provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards the progressive realization of responsible government should be taken;



Addressing the students



March 1918. Among the prominent members of the Home Rule for India League seen here with their leader Annie Besant are Jinnah, Kanji Dwarkadas, Syed Hussain, Dr. M.R.Jayakar and B.G.Horniman

(b) There should, as far as possible, be complete popular control in local bodies and they should have the largest possible freedom from outside control; and

(c) The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to the Parliament.

In August 1918, extraordinary sessions of both the Muslim League and the Congress were held in Bombay to consider the above proposals. Both the parties found the said proposals disappointing and unsatisfactory and demanded substantial modifications.

In November 1918, Montague visited India and met amongst others Jinnah too. He found him "a young, perfectly mannered, impressive looking, armed to the teeth with dialects and insisted upon the whole of the scheme". Chelmsford, the Viceroy, opined that "Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is, of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country".



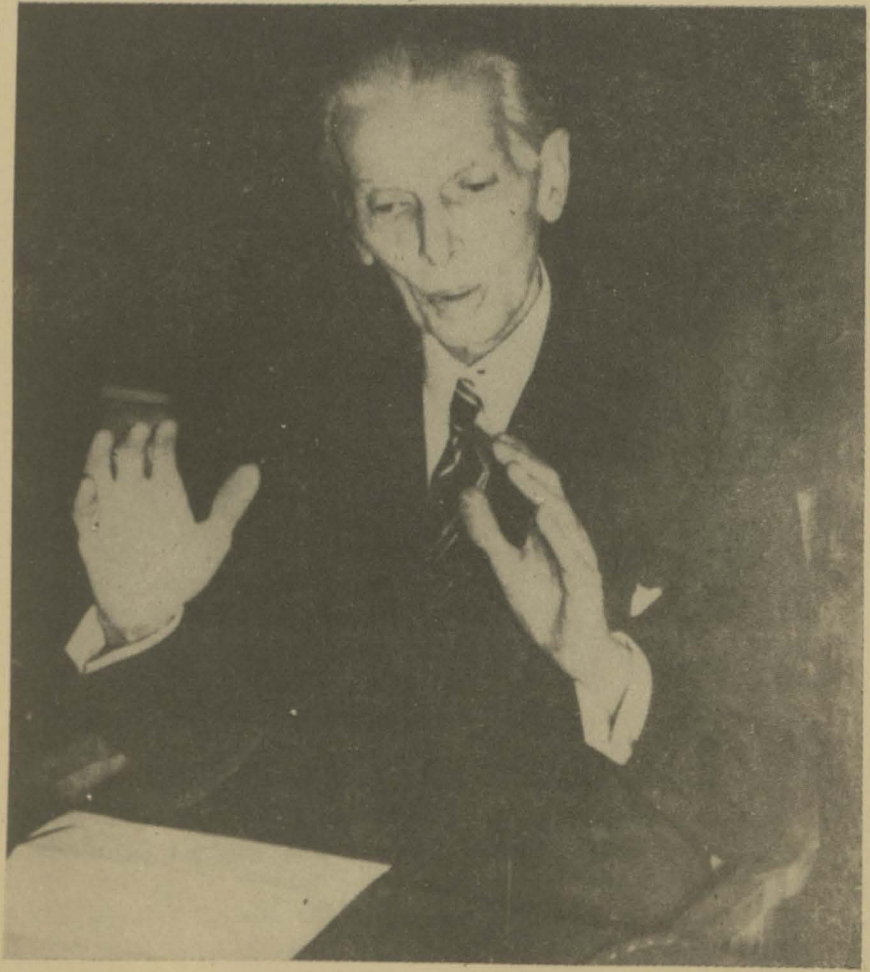
A serious mood



In Pahalgam

A War Conference was held in Delhi which was followed by the Bombay Provincial War Conference in June 1918. The Governor of Bombay, Lord Willingdon, presided. He expressed doubts on the sincerity of the Home Rule for India League on war efforts and had said that the support of this League was half-hearted. Jinnah, who was also the President of the Bombay Branch of the League, took it as an insult and shouted: "I will not have it." Replying to Lord Willingdon, he retorted: "My answer is this, that your policy is more half-hearted. You are playing with the people and you are not in earnest. Your methods and policy are all wrong. I cannot believe that even a bureaucrat is so blind as not to see it".

On December 11, 1918 a meeting of the citizens of Bombay was convened at the Town Hall to bid farewell to Willingdon and to inaugurate his memorial. Jinnah did not agree with the idea. He was the first to enter the Hall followed by a large number of his supporters. As the Sheriff entered the Hall, he was greeted with slogans of "shame, shame". The police used violence to clear the Hall. Jinnah was also assaulted. Anyhow the unpopular farewell to Willingdon could not take place.



Explaining a point



A portrait

Jinnah's courage brought peoples' victory over officialdom. His leadership of the protest was celebrated by the Bar Association in a public function. The citizens of Bombay built a Memorial Hall after his name. He was in London when the Hall was inaugurated. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu sent him a congratulatory cable saying: "A prophet is valued in his own community and in his life time."

Born on February 20, 1900 Rattan was the only daughter of a Parsi multi-millionaire, Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit, of Bombay. Sir Petit was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. His wife, Lady Din Petit, was a social worker and an active member of the Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay. Sir Petit's sister, Miss Hama Petit, was a member of the Bombay branch of Home Rule for India League.



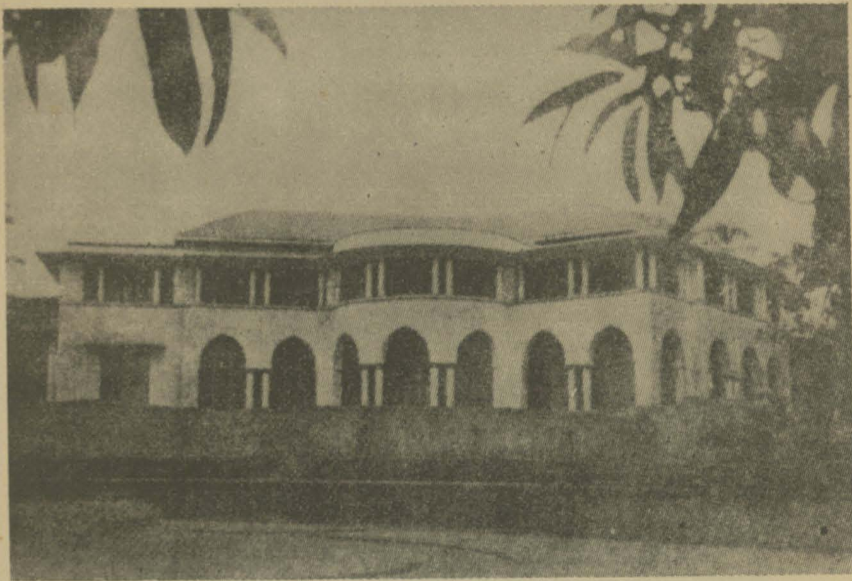
Begum Rutty Jinnah

Sir Petit often invited Jinnah to his home for an informal chat. Jinnah used to spend the summer months at some hill station for relaxation. Sir Petit, who owned a bungalow at the Matheran Hills, 55 miles from Bombay, often invited him to spend the vacations with them. Rutty was now fifteen and used to discuss the prevailing political situation with Jinnah. Both were fond of horse-riding and often went together. This brought Rutty mentally closer to Jinnah.

In April 1917, Jinnah purchased a bungalow called "South Court" at Mount Pleasant Road which was very close to the Petit Hall. In the summer of this year, Sir Petit's family decided in favour of a holiday at



On a drive with Sir Dinshaw Petit



His Bombay residence at Mount Pleasant Road

Darjeeling. He persuaded Jinnah to accompany them. They stayed at Mount Everest Hotel. It was here that young Rutty developed a liking for Jinnah and her heart prevailed on her mind.

On their return to Bombay, Jinnah became busy in his usual routine of work, but Rutty could not resist her inner urge. She bodly expressed her desire to her parents to marry him. The Petits were stunned. They unsuccessfully tried to persuade her to forget all about it. She remained adamant. As she had not reached the age of puberty, her furious father obtained a court order forbidding Jinnah to see his daughter. But on her 18th birthday, with only the sari she was wearing and a pet dog under each arm, a defiant Rutty stalked out of her father's mansion and came to Jinnah to marry him. She embraced Islam on April 18 and married Jinnah on April 19, 1918.



With Lady Dinshaw Petit

Rutty was an ardent and quick-tongued Indian nationalist. She took keen interest in practical politics. She had a high sense of patriotism and self-respect. The Viceroy, Lord Reading, several times suggested to Jinnah to offer Knighthood to him. He had always turned down the offer. Rutty, too, scoffed at the idea of being called Lady Jinnah as she disliked favours from an alien government. She attended the extraordinary Session of the Muslim League held on September 7, 1920 at Calcutta. She had a good sense of humour. At a luncheon in New Delhi in 1921, she was seated next to the Viceroy, Lord Reading, who was lamenting the fact that, in the atmosphere engendered by World War I, it was quite difficult for him to visit Germany. But why, asked Rutty Jinnah, was it so difficult? "Well", explained Reading, "the Germans don't really like us British. I can't go". "Then", Rutty quietly asked, "how is it that you British came to India?".

Their only daughter, Dina, was born on August 15, 1919. They had tremendous love and regard for each other. The marriage lasted for ten years. She died on February 20, 1929. As Jinnah threw the first fistful of earth on her grave, he had wept like a child. It was the last time anyone had ever seen a public display of emotion from him. From that moment forward, he had dedicated his life to the awakening of the Musalmans of India.



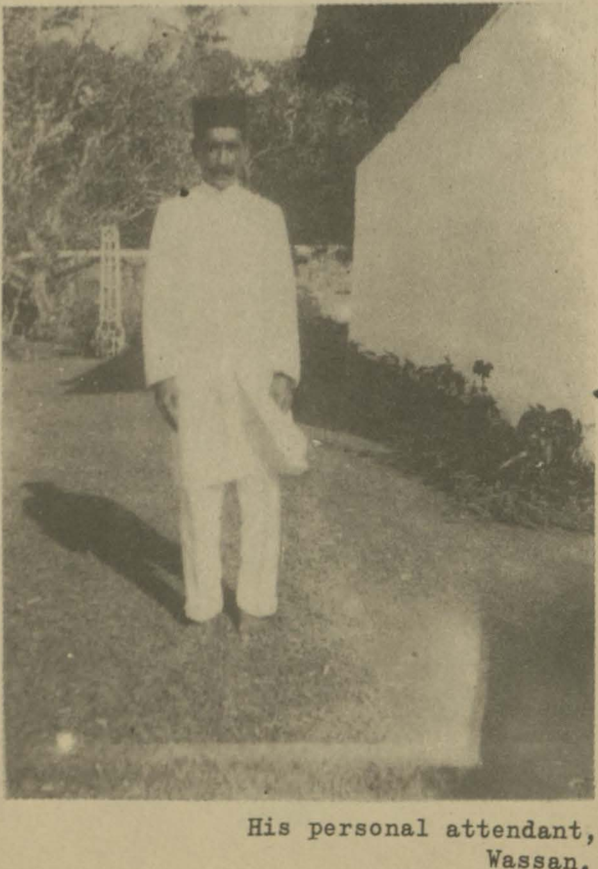
With his daughter, Dina



Last resting place of Begum Rutty Jinnah in Arambagh, Bombay

With the end of the World War I, the hostile treatment of Turkey aroused a wave of anger among the Musalmans of India. Anxiety was felt not only over the dismemberment of the Turkish territories, but also over the position of Khilafat and Muslim sacred places. An extraordinary session of the Muslim League was held on September 7, 1920 at Calcutta. In his presidential address, Jinnah had made frontal attacks on

the Government. He had referred to the Rowlatt Bill — accompanied by the Punjab atrocities — and the spoliation of the Ottoman Empire; and said that while the former attacked our liberty, the latter our faith. He continued: "One thing there is which is indisputable, and that is that this Government must go and give place to a complete responsible Government." The session was attended by Mrs. Annie Besant, Lala Rajpat Rai, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Gandhi. Jinnah was now elected permanent President of the All-India Muslim League.



His personal attendant,
Wassan.



On a whirlwind tour to organise the Muslims

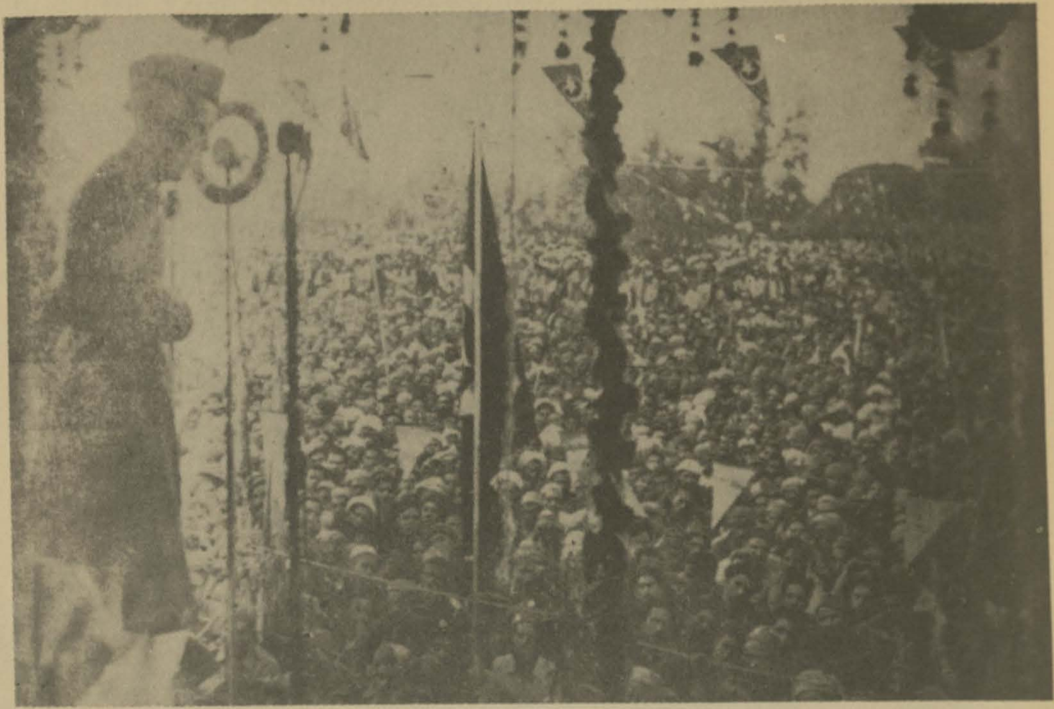
In bringing about the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and thereafter, Jinnah had rendered a signal service to the national cause by uniting the Muslims and Hindus in a shared ideal. But alas: suspicion, old hostilities and a growing desire on the part of the Hindus to appropriate power to themselves had undone the efforts of a decade. In December 1920, at its Nagpur Session, the Congress adopted the plan of non-co-operation and boycott of the legislatures, notwithstanding Jinnah's opposition. Gandhi had taken this step without first laying a solid foundation of Hindu-Muslim understanding. Jinnah, therefore, left the Congress for good. He steadily maintained his opposition to that movement, risking his popularity and earning a great deal of undeserved opprobrium. But with the foresight and uncanny instinct, he foretold the failure of the movement

and refused to be carried off his feet by impulse and emotion. Sentiment had no place in his armoury. To him life was personalised logic. It was the rigid and unflinching test of logic that he applied to every problem that came up before him. It was the above test that enabled him to advise his followers to keep away from the periodic emotionalism of Gandhi.

Gandhi called off his non-co-operation movement in February 1922. In Turkey, the Treaty of Lausanne was finally signed on July 24, 1923 and was ratified by the Ankara Government on August 22. Within the next few weeks all the allied troops had left Turkey, which was proclaimed a Republic. In early 1924, the Khilafat was abolished. The above had saddened the Muslamans of India. The emergence of Kemal Ataturk, the



Muslim League Working Committee in session



Addressing a mass meeting

defeat of the Greeks who were thrown out of Symrna and Constantinople, had overjoyed their hearts. In view of the above changes, the Khilafat movement had lost its vitality by the end of 1923. The Congress too considerably lost its prestige, due to the failure of the non-co-operation movement.

During the years of the Khilafat and non-co-operation movement, the Muslim League had ceased to exist for all practical purposes. There was no annual session in 1922. The attendance in the Annual Session of 1923 was so poor that the open Session had to be adjourned. During 1921-23, serious communal riots had taken place throughout India. One lamentable result of the communal riots was that Musalmans had begun

to lose faith in the Hindu-Muslim unity which Jinnah had so assiduously built up. The communal organizations, like Hindu Mahasabha, which had earlier disappeared before the rising sun of nationalism, were again seen, gathering strength out of the communal riots. The *Shuddhi* movement (re-conversion of Muslims to the Hindufold) of Shraddhanand had created resentment and bitterness among the Musalmans.

Undaunted by all the above distempers, Jinnah continued trying for Hindu-Muslim rapprochement, and aiming towards that end had consolidated and led the progressive and national elements in the Muslim League. In the successive sessions of the Muslim League in 1924, 1925 and 1926, Jinnah had defined the position of the Musalmans in respect of



With the lady workers of Bombay.



Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Abdul Rahman Siddiqui
and Ch. Khaliquzzaman

any forthcoming constitutional changes in the country. The terms embodied were extremely moderate and fair. But it seemed that the provision of separate electorates had endangered undue opposition and hostilities from the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha.

Jinnah those days, appreciating the prudence and promises of joint electorates, made heroic efforts to meet the wishes and demands of the

Hindu leaders. Therefore, a prominent group of Muslim leaders had met at Delhi on March 20, 1927, Jinnah presiding. After careful discussions, they agreed to the introduction of joint electorates on the conditions that Sind was separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province; that reforms were introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same lines as in any other province in India; that in the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation should be in accordance with the population; and that finally the Muslim representation in the Central Legislature should not be less than a third. The Muslim League, at its Calcutta Session, on December 30, 1927 — January 1, 1928, authorised its Council to appoint a sub-committee to confer with the Congress Working Committee, on somewhat similar terms but its Hindu members did not accept the desired formula in toto.



With some members of the Muslim League Working Committee, 1940



In procession at Quetta, 1943

In May 1928, the All Parties Conference appointed a committee to determine the principles of the Constitution of India. The Muslim League was not represented in this meeting. Hence it was not a party to the appointment of this committee. The report of the committee, headed by Pandit Motilal Nehru, was presented to the Conference in August 1928. The Nehru Report had reported that separate electorates were not suitable for the growth of national spirit. They went further. They turned down the weightage in favour of Muslims, which had already been agreed to under the Lucknow Pact. It equally failed to appreciate Muslims' fear of Hindu domination and considered it illogical.

Jinnah made another attempt to come to a settlement with the Congress leadership by getting the Muslim League to send a 23-member strong delegation to the All Parties Convention at Delhi in December 1928 to put the moderate and just demands of the Musalmans in the form of amendments in the Nehru Report. These were:

(a) The Muslim representation in the Central Legislature should not be less than one-third;



With councillors of the Punjab Muslim League at Mamdot Villa, Lahore



Group photograph with the students of the Muslim University, Aligarh

(b) In the event of adult franchise not being granted, as envisaged in the Nehru Report, Muslim representation in the Provincial Legislatures of the Punjab and Bengal should be on population basis;

(c) The separation of Sind from Bombay and raising the status of North-West Frontier Province to a Governor's province should not be made contingent on the establishment of the Nehru Constitution; and

(d) The residuary powers should be vested in the Provinces and not in the Centre.

The above demands were summarily rejected by the Convention. And the League delegates withdrew from further discussion. This was a great disappointment to Jinnah. He had courageously fought the reactionary Muslim elements within the League and had gone even so far that the League was split into the Jinnah League and Shafi League on the twin issues of joint electorates and the Simon Commission. He had extended his hand of co-operation and compromise to the Hindus in the interest of the greater national welfare. The Hindus had spurned the said hand of friendship, since they were not in a mood to share even a rudiment of power with the Musalmans.



With the Tribal Sardars of N.W.F.P.



In Karachi, 1943

Years rolled by. The Simon Commission with its attendant agitation and mass protest came and went. The British government began to realize the depth of feelings of the Indian people. They, as a compromise, decided to convene a Round Table Conference of all parties in London. For about two years these Conferences continued but the Hindu-Muslim problem remained unsolved. On August 16, 1932, the British Prime Minister announced the Communal Award, maintaining separate electorates.

After the Second Session of the Round Table Conference in 1931, Jinnah stayed back in England to practise at the Privy Council. During his absence from India, the Muslim League became infractuous organization. With his usual foresight and vision, Jinnah realised that the Musalmans were at the threshold of a critical period and his place was by their side. He, therefore, returned to India in April 1934.

In August 1935, the Government of India Act, 1935, was enacted. The important features of the Act were: All-India Federation, provincial autonomy and responsibilities with safeguards. The residuary powers were neither allocated to the Centre, as desired by the Hindus, nor to the provinces as demanded by the Muslims, but were vested in the Governor-General, to be exercised at his discretion.



Quaid-e-Azam, Aga Khan III and other Indian leaders at the Round Table Conference in London, 1931



With the leaders of the Muslim League

During the difficult period before the inauguration of the provincial autonomy, Jinnah reorganised and revitalized the Mualim League and put it on an active role. Muslim League till so far had been an organization that met annually to air the grievances of the Musalmans and to pass a few high sounding resolutions. Jinnah made the League into a people's organization and united the Musalmans into a nation of eighty million people with one voice, one flag and one ideal. Once a rabbled crowd, this nation was now made alive to the danger facing it and aware what the future had in store for it. From now on began the new phase of Jinnah's leadership. Once the leader of the intelligentsia, he now became the leader of the masses. His most ardent admirers were astonished by the ability, confidence and strength with which he took charge of the leadership of a people noted for their apathy and indifference.

In April 1936, he organised the Bombay Session of the Muslim League. While condemning the Federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, as "most reactionary and totally unacceptable", it decided to utilise the provincial part of the Act for "what it was worth". Jinnah was authorised to name a Central Parliamentary Board.



Muslim League leaders of 1935. (r to l) sitting: Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan of Baghpat, Barrister Syed Ahmad Ashraf, Maulana Shaukat Ali, --, Malik Barkat Ali, Quaid-e-Azam, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Sardar Mohd Aurangzeb Khan, Sir Mohammad Yamin and Nawab Ismail Khan. Standing: Barrister Syed Ahmad Rafiq, Abul Bayan Azad, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Abdul Wahid Qureshi, Alhaj Abdul Rab and Haji Sattar Sait.



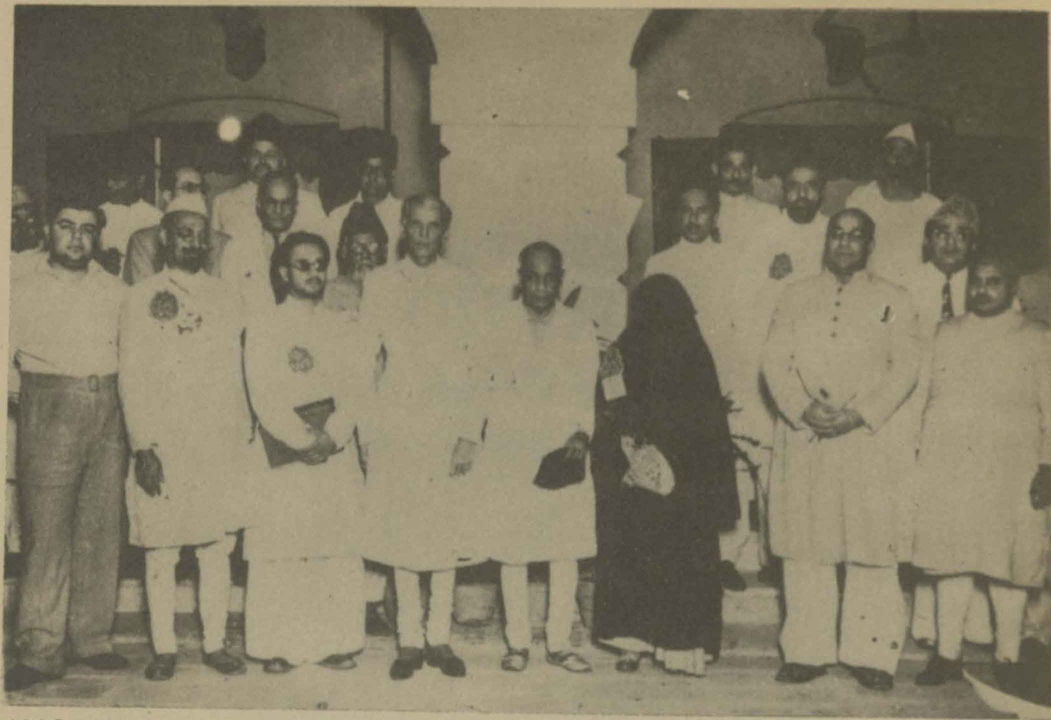
At Madras, 1941

Provincial elections were held in early 1937. The success of the Muslim League was truly amazing, considering the short period of time at the disposal of Jinnah. It was a befitting confidence of the people in his leadership. But it failed to serve as an eye-opener to the Congress which failed to read the writing on the wall. Their success at the polls made them mad. As Jawaharlal Nehru boasted: "There are two parties in the country, the British and the Congress." Jinnah refused to accept this position and replied: "I refuse to line up. There is a third party in the country, and that is Muslim India." Out of eleven provinces, the Congress had formed governments in eight. It turned down the offer of the League to have a coalition with them.

The Twenty-fifth Session of the Muslim League was held at Lucknow on October 15, 1937. This was perhaps the first sign of the growing sense of solidarity among the Musalmans of India. A momentous decision was taken to change the League's creed from full responsible government to full independence. It was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, explaining the resolution, said that the word 'complete' had been intentionally kept out as its interpretation by Congress had made it meaningless. Some meant by



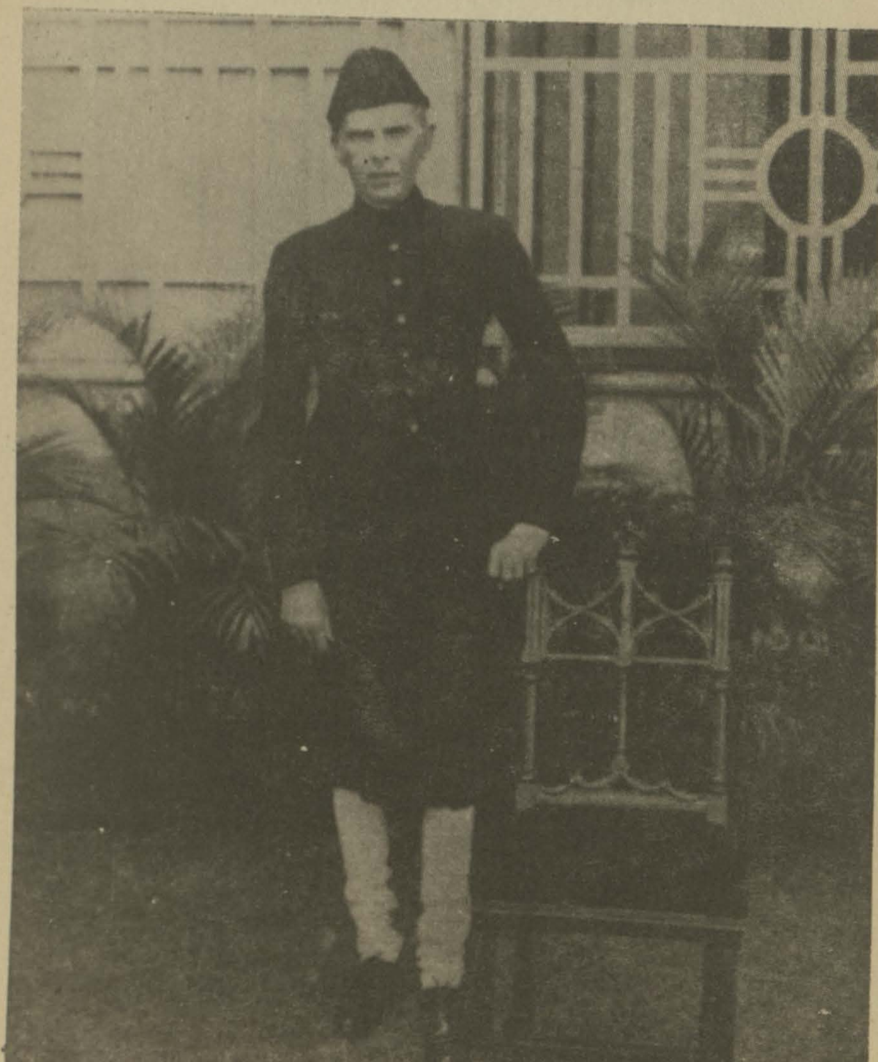
In procession


1938. With members of the Muslim League Working Committee

complete independence Dominion Status. Others *Purna Swaraj*, etc. Further, the Congress creed did not define the form of independent India. The speaker said that the Congress wanted a unitary form of Government, while the Muslims were totally opposed to such a form. The League wanted a federation of free States in India.

On September 3, 1939, Britain declared war on Germany. The Viceroy announed that India was also at war with Germany. By October all the Congress ministries had gone out of office in protest. The Muslim

League observed a "Deliverance Day" on December 22 to express their deliverance from injustice, oppression and tyranny. During the above two and a half years of Congress rule, Jinnah had gone on with his task of uniting and consolidating the Musalmans all over the country. The bitterness and hatred caused by the Congress ministries amongst the Muslims had considerably helped him in this stupendous task.



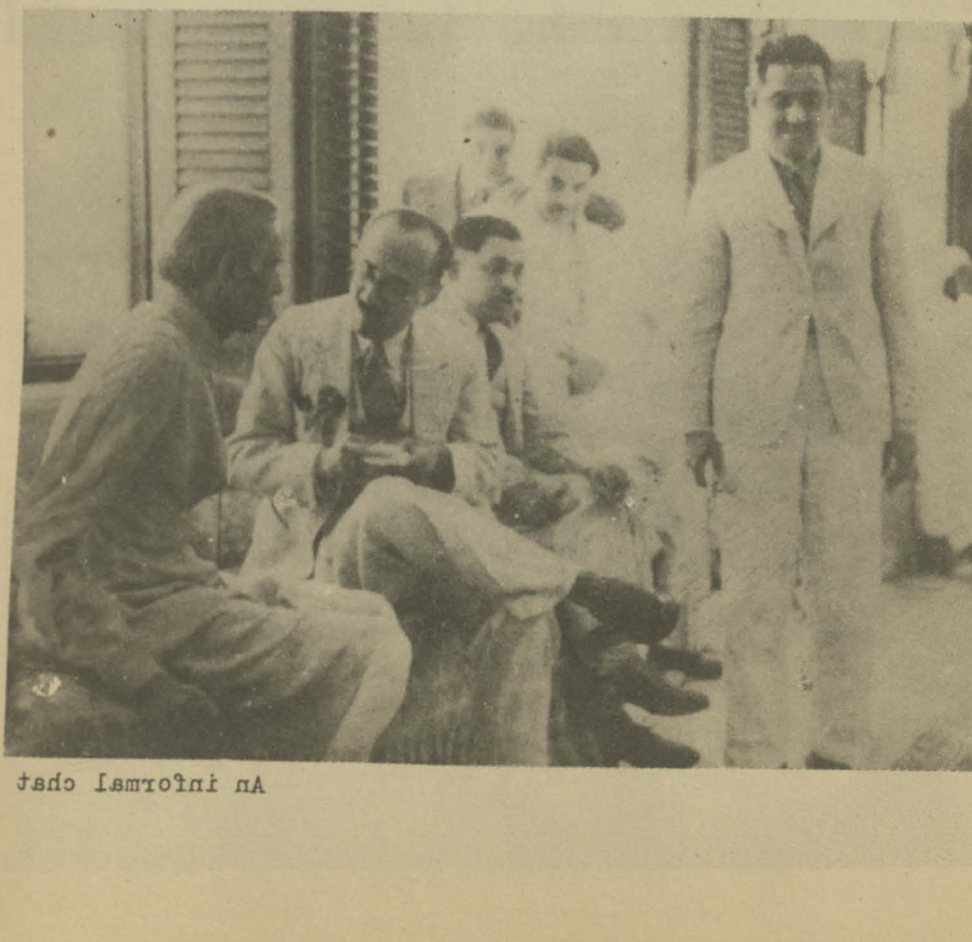
A pose with his fancy chair



At Abdullah Court, Karachi, 1943

Jinnah was thereafter firmly convinced that the Congress did not desire a just and honourable settlement with the Musalmans. The Hindus were not as yet prepared to share power with the Musalmans. The cherished ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity for which he had fought so long as so vainly now looked impossible to achieve. The two-nation theory had captured the imagination of some Leaguers of Sind, who at the Annual Session of its Provincial League which was presided

over by Jinnah in October 1938, had passed a resolution proposing the partition of India. By 1939, various proposals in favour of the partition were put forward by different individuals. The partition idea was spreading so fast and going so deep into the politics of the day that, in March 1939, the League appointed a committee to examine the various proposals and to suggest suitable alternatives to safeguard the interests of the Musalmans. It may be added that while these political activities were going on, the membership of the League was increasing by leaps and bounds. So had been improvement in its organisation.



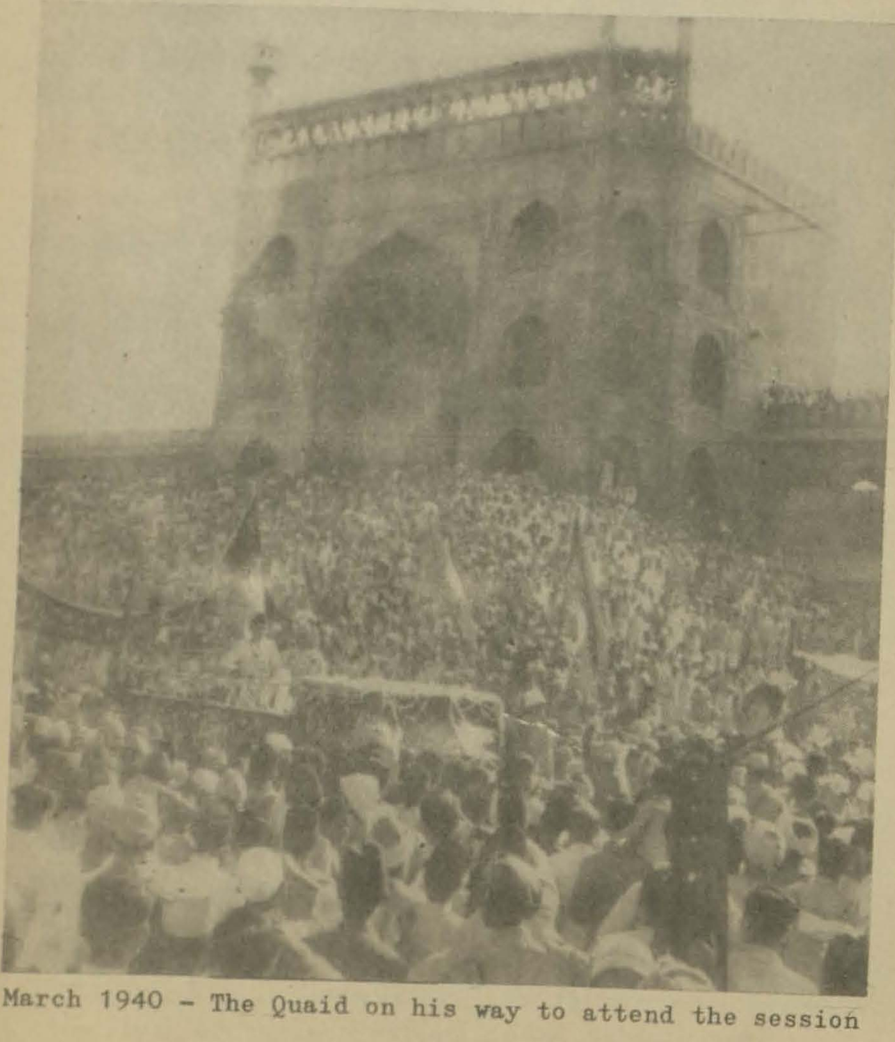
An informal chat



View of the pandals
set up for the 1940 historic session of
the All-India Muslim League at
Lahore



This historic Twenty-seventh Session of the All-India Muslim League was held at Minto Park (now Iqbal Park), Lahore on March 22-24, 1940, in a specially constructed *pandal* with a seating capacity of well over 60,000 people. Before the scheduled time of 2.30 p.m., the *pandal* was packed to capacity. Another 100,000 people had to remain outside and to listen to the proceedings through loud-speakers. Jinnah arrived around 2.25 p.m. and the huge assembly shouted with one voice "Quaid-e-Azam Zindabad". From thereafter Jinnah was popularly called "Quaid-e-Azam".



March 1940 - The Quaid on his way to attend the session



A view of the audience, estimated at 500,000



Appreciating the enthusiasm among the Muslims

In his presidential address, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said that Hindus and Muslims could never evolve a common nationality; they had different philosophy, different social customs and different ideology. The artificial unity of India had dated from the time of the British conquest and was only maintained by British bayonets. Muslims were a nation by any definition of a nation and must have their own homeland. On March 23, 1940, a resolution was moved which *inter alia* said:



Addressing the audience



Ch. Khaliquzzaman supporting the Pakistan Resolution

"It is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims, unless it is designed on the following basic principle, *viz.*, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

The resolution was moved by Molvi A.K. Fazlul Haq and seconded by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Sardar Mohd. Aurangzeb Khan and Sir Abdullah Haroon had supported the resolution. An amendment was moved suggesting that the provinces of the Punjab, Sind, the Frontier and Baluchistan should be specially mentioned therein. Liaquat Ali Khan intervened and said that the omission of the names of the provinces was deliberate, otherwise the territory of the proposed State would extend only up to Gurgaon. He added that by using the expression "territorial adjustment", it was not intended to surrender portions of the Punjab and Bengal but to claim areas of Muslim culture like Delhi and Aligarh. The resolution was passed unanimously amid great enthusiasm.

Molvi A.K.Fazlul Haq moving the Pakistan Resolution





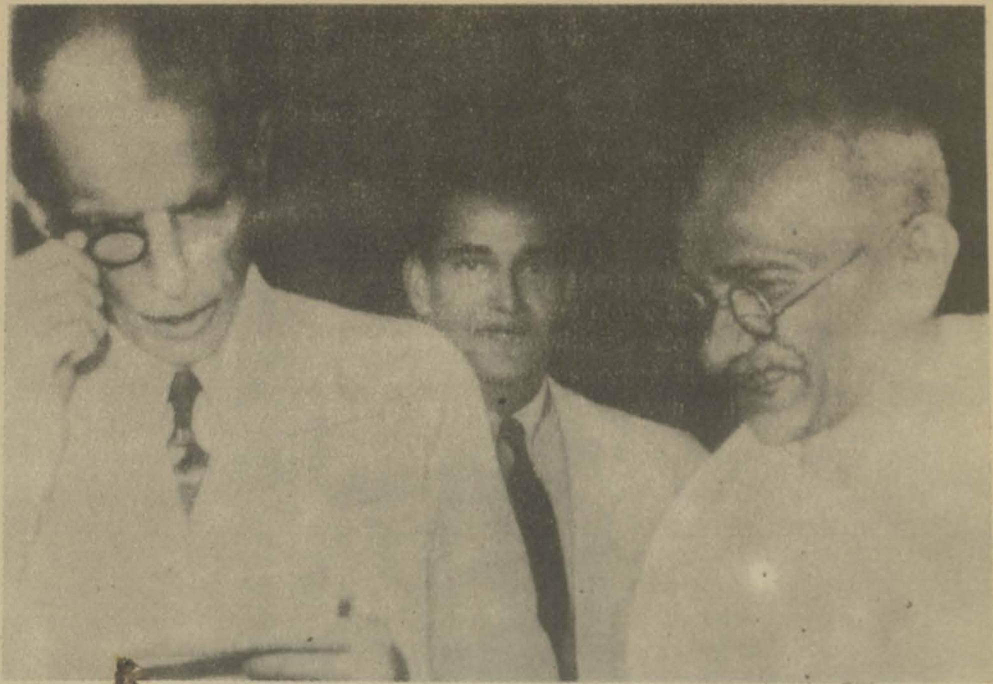
1940, at Lahore



Thus the work of a life time for Hindu-Muslim unity evaporated like thin air. The Congress and the League now entered the decisive phases of their careers, the one for the freedom with Hindu domination and the other for Hindu-Muslim understanding, on Muslims terms, if possible and for partition of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, if necessary. The Muslim nation zealously started a movement to attain their objective,



March 1940. Muslim League leaders at Al-Manzar, Lahore with the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah



Jinnah-Gandhi (in the centre is Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada)

The League was becoming popular day by day. Between 1938 and 1942, it won 46 out of 56 Muslim seats in by-elections.

In March 1942, when the Second World War entered a critical phase in the East, Gandhi asked the British to "Quit India". Quaid-e-Azam retorted: "Divide and Quit". Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British War Cabinet, was sent on a mission to India to attempt a solution of the Indian deadlock. His proposals were rejected by the Congress because it did not concede the demand for responsible government. The League also rejected them on the ground that the commitment to partition was not unequivocally conceded. There was a growing

opinion amongst the wiser and more practical Hindu minds to agree to the parting of ways and thus end foreign domination. Rajagopalachari tried to persuade the Congress to acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation but his resolution, moved in May 1942 Session of the All-India Congress Committee, was rejected.

The Congress decided on August 8, 1942, upon a mass movement, which soon broke out and developed into an open revolt. The League condemned the movement and, on August 20, its Worhing Committee met at Bombay, and said in a resolution:

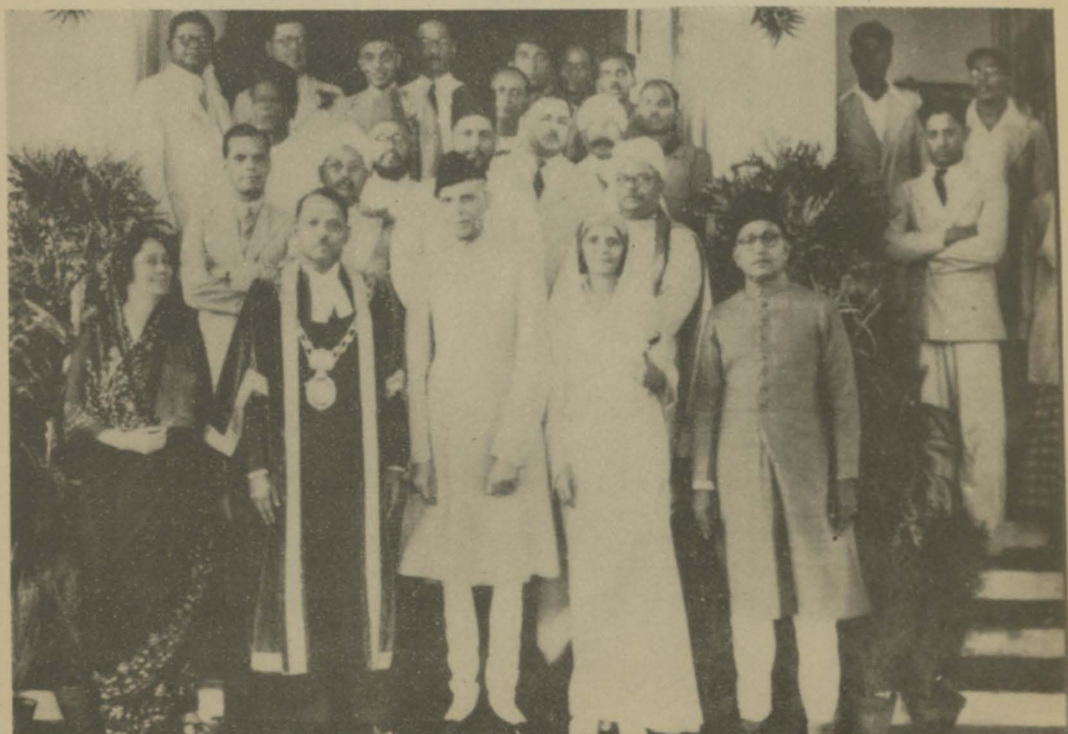


Sir Stafford Cripps, British Chancellor of Exchequor, escorting the Quaid-e-Azam to his car, 1942



Addressing Annual Session at Madras, 1941

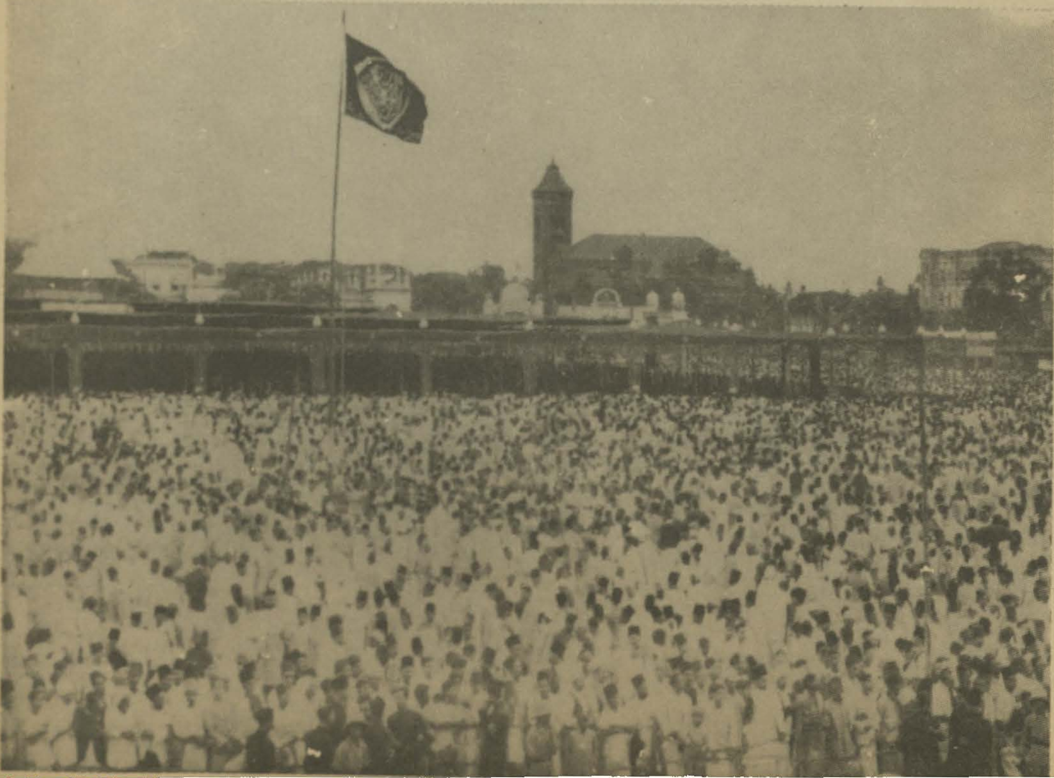
With the councillors of Madras Muslim League





Coming to address the session

A section of the crowd welcoming him in Madras, 1941





Addressing Iqbal Day meeting at Lahore

"It is the considered opinion of the Working Committee that this movement is directed not only to coerce the British Government into handing over power to a Hindu oligarchy and thus disabling them from carrying out their moral obligations and pledges given to the Musalmans and other sections of the peoples of India from time to time, but also to force the Musalmans to submit and surrender to Congress terms and dictation".

Quaid-e-Azam asked the Musalmans to keep themselves completely aloof from the said movement. It after a while petered away. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were detained. They were set at liberty two years later in 1944 when the war seemed coming to a close.

On April 8, 1943, Rajagopalachari placed a formula (known as *C.R. Formula*) before the Quaid-e-Azam with the prior approval of Gandhi who was still under detention. The formula was as follows:

(a) Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for a free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will cooperate with

At Aligarh





With C. Rajagopalachari

Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transition period:

(b) After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants, held on the basis of adult franchise or other practical franchise, shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the

majority decides in favour of the formation of a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such a decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of the districts on the border to choose to join either state;

(c) It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held;

(d) In the event of separation, a mutual agreement shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications and other essential purposes;

(e) Any transfer of population shall be only on an absolutely voluntary basis; and



With Muslim League National Guards at Karachi



With Muslim League National Guards at Nagpur

(f) These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India.

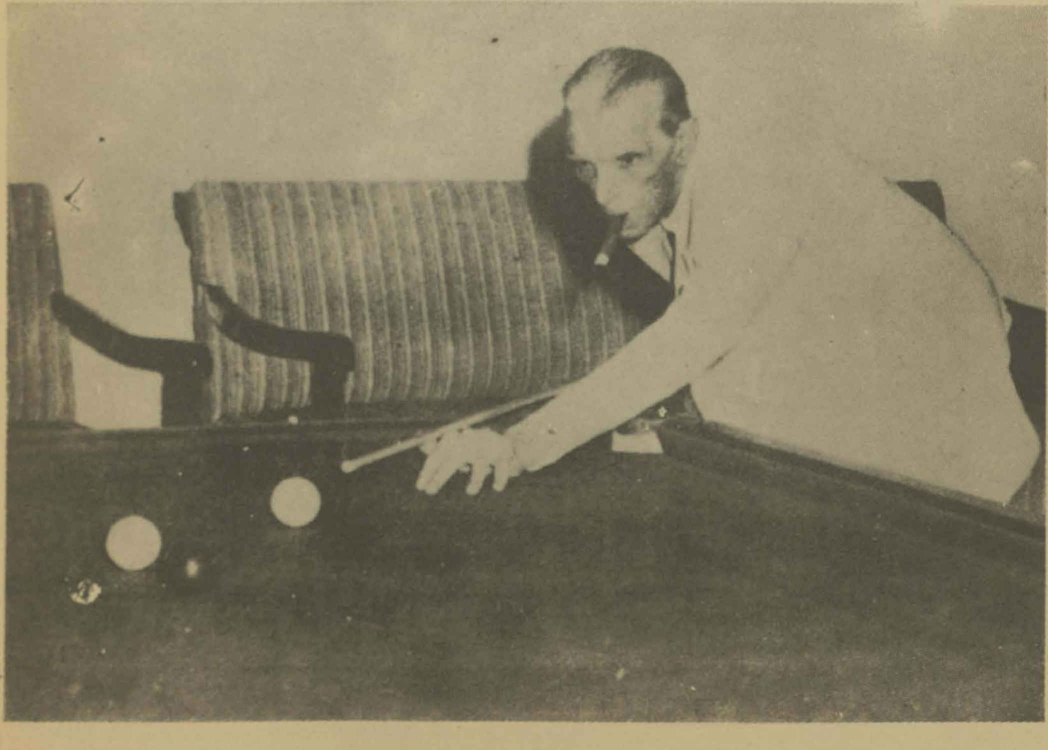
Quaid-e-Azam did not approve this formula.

In 1943, Lord Linlithgow was replaced by Lord Wavell as Viceroy of India. In June 1945 he proposed a change in the composition of his Executive Council. Before 1941, the majority of Councillors had been British; in that year it was expanded, so that there was an Indian majority



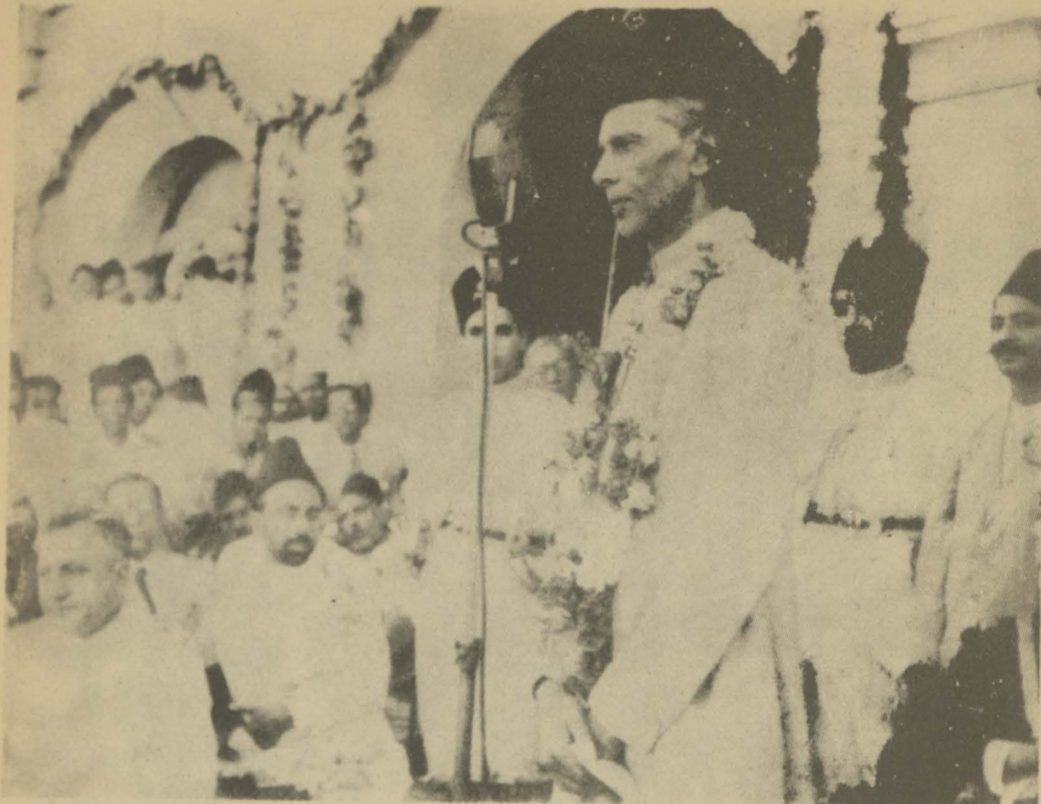
With members of the Muslim League Working Committee, 1942

Relaxing at Billiards

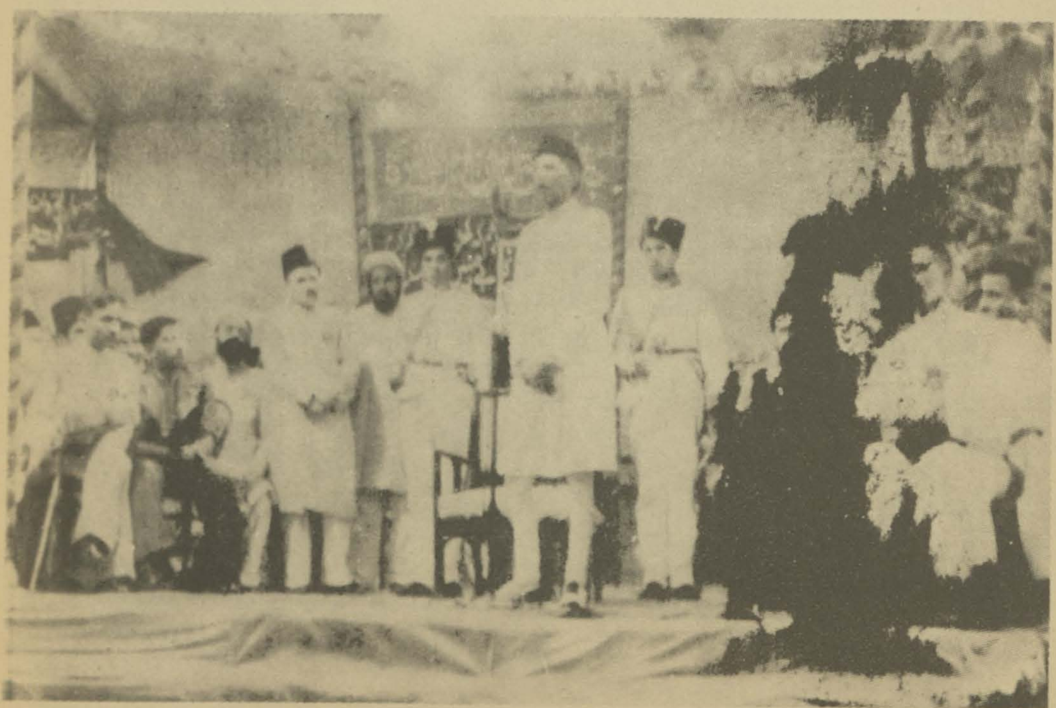




Welcome in McLeod Road (now I.I.Chundrigar Road), Karachi, 1943



Addressing Karachi Session of the Muslim League, 1943





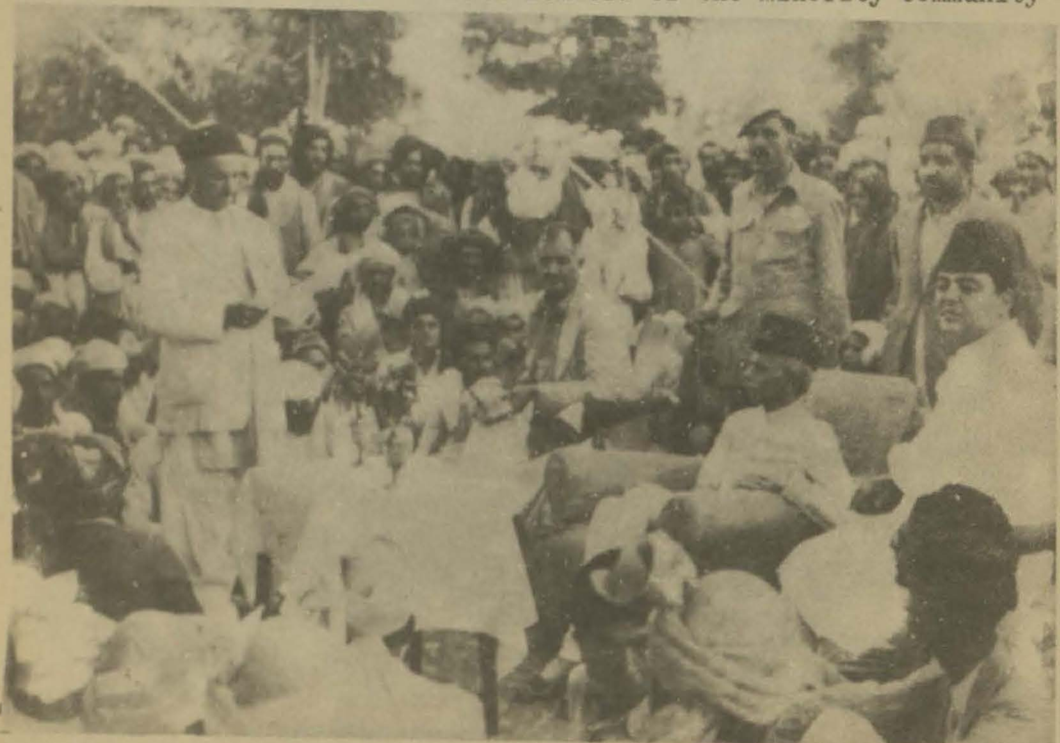
Hyderabad Deccan

of three, which was increased to eight in 1942. The new proposal was to Indianise the whole Council, with the exceptions of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, half the Indian members to be Hindus and half Muslims. Political leaders were invited to consult the Governor-General on the selection of the Councillors but the discussions broke down, as neither Lord Wavell nor the Congress would concede the League's claim to nominate all the Muslim members.

Who really represented the Muslims? This was the question to be decided. Now only a fresh general election could determine the representative character of different parties. Therefore, the Viceroy, on the authority of the British Government, announced that he would "take steps to bring into being an Executive Council which will have the

support of the main Indian parties". Which these main parties were, would be found from the fresh provincial elections. These were held early in 1946. To the great surprise of the Hindus, the League swept the polls in Muslim constituencies. It won 122 out of 123 Muslim seats in Bengal, 80 out of 86 seats in the Punjab, and 28 out of the 35 seats in Sind. In the Hindu-majority provinces also, its victories in Muslim constituencies were equally heavy. In the U.P. it secured 55 out of 66 seats, in Bihar 30 out of 36, in Orissa all the four, in Madras all the 29, in the Central Provinces 13 out of 14, in Bombay all the 28 seats and in Assam 31 out of 34. In the North-West Frontier Province, it captured 17 against the Congress gain of 21 (including two Jamiat-ul-Ulema members). In the months of November-December 1946, re-elections

With members of the minority community





Old guards, 1946, Delhi

were held in the province of Sind where the League captured 35 out of 37 seats. Thus the elections had shown that the Muslim League alone could speak for the Musalmans of India.

A British Cabinet Mission arrived in India at the end of March 1946. In consisted of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Sir A.V. Alexander. The representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League were invited to meet the Mission in an effort to promote the early realisation of self-government. The talks continued up to April 26 but yielded no solution. The Mission then made a move for a tripartite conference with the representatives of the Congress and the League.

The basis of discussion was the following note enclosed with the Secretary of State's invitation: "The future constitutional structure of British India will be as follows:

> "A Union Government dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary sovereign rights."



1947, addressing a procession taken out by Delhi Provincial Womens' Muslim League



1946. With members of the British Cabinet Mission.
(l to r) A.V.Alexander, Quaid-e-Azam, Lord Pethic-Lawrence (the Secretary of State for India) and Sir Stafford Cripps

The Conference was held at Simla on May 5, 1946 and ended on May 13 without arriving at any agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League. Quaid-e-Azam, for the time being, did not press for an outright partition of India and agreed to accept a Centre with only three subjects. Contrary to this, the Congress objected to the grouping of provinces on a communal basis and stood for united India with Hindu majority rule. The League's gesture had no effect on the Congress.

On May 16, 1946, the Mission announced its plan, proposing a three-tier federation: Zone A consisting of Hindu majority provinces; Zone B consisting of North-Western provinces with considerable Muslim majorities; and Zone C consisting of Bengal and Assam with a slight Muslim majority. The Mission appreciated "the very real Muslim apprehension that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior number must be a dominant element", but did not agree with the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan.



1946. In conference with the British Cabinet Mission



1946. Muslim League Working Committee in session at Simla

The Quaid-e-Azam, on May 22, 1946, issued a statement on this plan in which he regretted that the "Mission should have negatived the Muslim demand for the establishment of a completely sovereign State of Pakistan, which we hold is the only solution of the constitutional problems of India". He termed the plan as cryptic with several lacunas and said: "It seems that this was done to appease and placate the Congress, because when they come to face the realities, they themselves have made the following pronouncement embodied in paragraph 5 of the Statement, which says: "This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India, since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule."

The Mission, on May 25, issued a further statement saying that the grouping of the provinces is an essential feature of the scheme. The Muslim League now felt that, in the compulsory grouping of the Muslim provinces, it had won the substance of Pakistan. Therefore, they accepted the plan. The Congress also accepted the plan in spite of Gandhi's bitter criticism on the grouping of the provinces. But they put their own interpretations on it. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, now President of the Congress, also asserted the right to modify the plan



1946. Muslim League leaders with the British Cabinet Mission. (l to r) A.V.Alexander, Quaid-e-Azam, Lord Pethic-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps, Nawabzada Liaqua Ali Khan and Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar


A meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee, Delhi

after independence. In view of these developments, the Muslim League was forced to withdraw its acceptance of the plan.

The Viceroy resumed negotiations for the setting up of an Interim Government. On June 13, 1946, he informed the Quaid-e-Azam that the original basis of 5 Congress, 5 Muslim League and 2 other minorities was not acceptable to the Congress. Therefore, it was proposed to alter that basis to 5: 5: 3. On June 15, the Viceroy again informed the Quaid-e-Azam that even this basis was not to the liking of the Congress and as such it had been abandoned.

On June 16, the Viceroy, in consultation with the members of the Cabinet Mission, announced that he had decided to make a proposal of his own for the formation of an Interim Government. This final proposal altered the basis to 5: 5: 4 and party-wise representation to community-wise representation. Of the fourteen names proposed, five were caste Hindus and Congressmen, five were Muslims and Muslim Leaguers and four were minorities, including one Congressman. Quaid-e-Azam, on June 19, sought certain assurances and clarifications from the Viceroy, who in reply, gave most of the assurances asked for. The League Working Committee, on June 24, accepted the June 16 statement.



1946. Addressing a press conference on the outcome of his talks with the Cabinet Mission



Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, receiving the Quaid-e-Azam

Behind the scene, meetings between the Congress leaders and members of the Cabinet Mission were going on. The League was kept in dark. The Mission, on June 24, informed the Quaid-e-Azam that the Congress was not prepared to accept the statement of June 16 and, therefore, it had no longer any validity. The Muslim League was thus betrayed.

The Quaid-e-Azam, however, in order to prevent undesirable Muslim element from getting in, decided to participate in the elections to the Constituent Assembly. The League won 75 out of a total of 79 Muslim seats.

With Jawaharlal Nehru





With the Pir of Manki

On July 22, 1946, the Viceroy wrote a letter to the Quaid-e-Azam informing him the new basis for the formation of an interim government. These were: total number to be 14—Congress 6 including one scheduled caste, Muslim League 5 and other minorities 3, including one Sikh; no party to have any right to object to the persons selected by the other party; a convention might be established "if freely offered by the Congress" that the interim government would not take any decision on questions involving any major communal issue except with the consent of both the parties to the coalition; and the Muslim

League could withdraw from the coalition if felt dissatisfied with its functioning. To this letter, the Quaid-e-Azam replied on July 31 that since the new proposals were completely at variance with the terms of the June 16 plan and constituted a breach of specific assurances given by the Viceroy in his letter of June 20, there was no chance of its acceptance by the Muslim League.



With the tribal chiefs


Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan presenting a report to the Working Committee

Obviously, the British Government was taking the Congress side and was following its line of action envisaging a complete Hindu rule. Therefore, on August 8, the Viceroy informed the Quaid-e-Azam that he was asking the Congress to make proposals for the formation of an interim government. The Congress accepted the offer. On August 13, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to the Quaid-e-Azam informing him of the Viceroy's offer and formally asking for his cooperation. To this, the Quaid-e-Azam replied on August 15 saying: "If this means that the Viceroy has commissioned you to form the Executive Council of

the Governor-General and has already agreed to accept and act upon your advice and proceed to constitute his Executive Council accordingly, it is not possible for me to accept such a position on that basis."

He, however, offered to discuss with Nehru the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question. Nehru replied the same day saying that he

Lahore, 1947





Broadcasting to the nation

had no new proposal to make and that the immediate issue was the setting up of an interim government and not the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question. Both met at Bombay on August 15. Nehru offered five seats to the Muslim League in a government of fourteen. The Congress was to include a Muslim, of its own choice, in its quota, and all the nine other seats were to be filled in by the Congress nominees. The Quaid-e-Azam expressed his inability to cooperate on the above basis.

The formation of the interim government was announced on August 24, 1946. The names of 12 out of 14 members of his government were also announced. Five of them were Congress caste Hindus, one a Congress Scheduled Caste, one a Congress Muslim, one a Sikh, one an India Christian, one a Parsi and two other Muslims of Congress choice. The Congress could secure only three Muslims. Therefore, two seats were left vacant.



Receiving a Karakuli Jinnah Cap from Malik Jan Mohammad, Chief of Baluchistan Muslim League National Guards, February, 1948

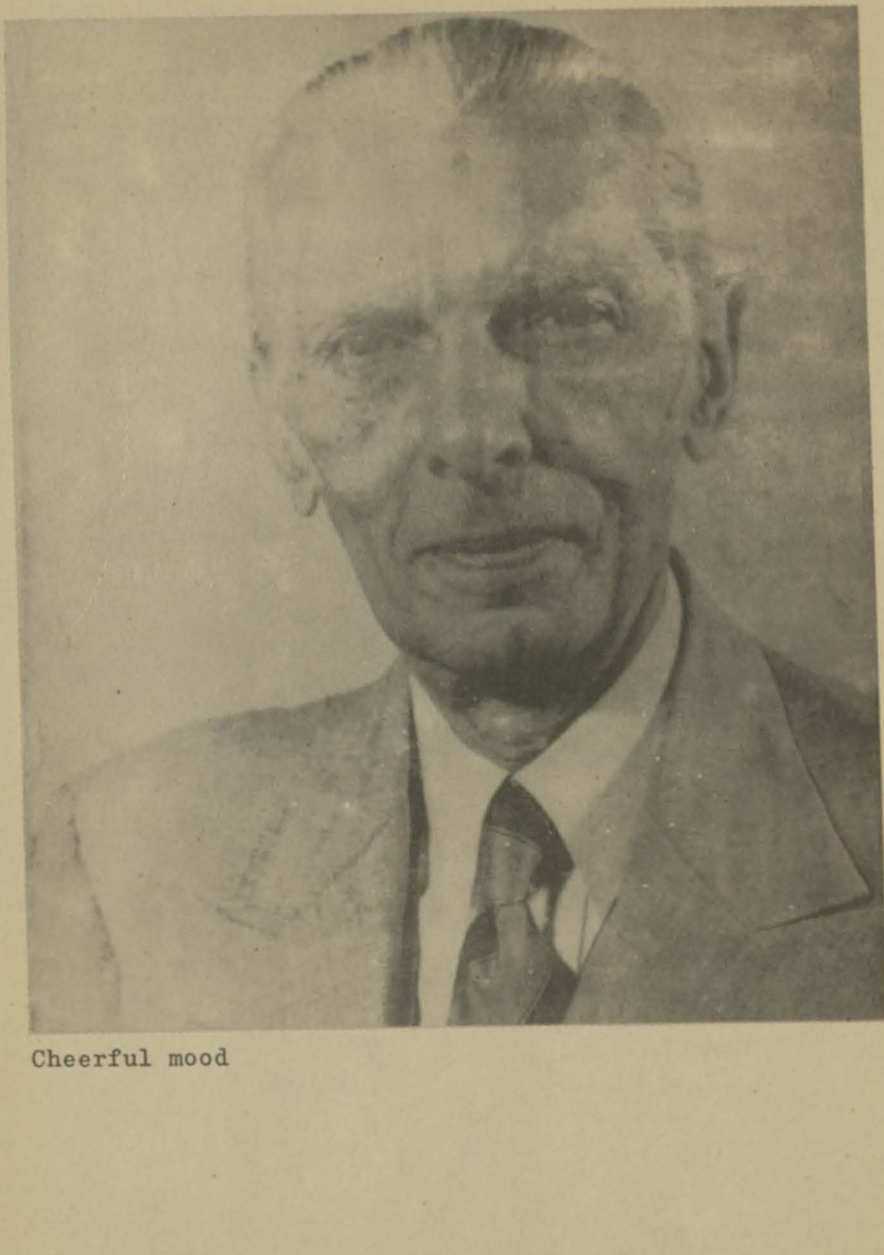

At Government House, Quetta, 1948

The same evening, Lord Wavell, made a broadcast and asked for League's cooperation. He invited the League to send five names to him for inclusion in the interim government which could only exist and function if both the main parties are satisfied. The Quaid-e-Azam, on August 26, replied that by forming a government of the Congress party alone and its nominees, the Viceroy had struck a severe blow to the Muslim League and Muslim India. And it had added insult to injury. The offer to join the government, already set up, was vague, except that the Muslim League could send five representatives to it.

The interim government constituted of only Congress nominees, was installed in office on September 2, 1946. The said day was observed by the Musalmans of India as a 'Black Day'. The day passed off without any untoward incidents all over India except in Calcutta, which was the scene of an unprecedented communal riots. Although the Musalmans were in majority in Bengal, Calcutta had a predominantly Hindu



A memorable picture taken during his tour of Peshawar in 1940



Cheerful mood

population, only 24 per cent being Muslims. There was a spate of murders, arson and loot. The Quaid-e-Azam unreservedly condemned the acts of violence and deeply sympathised with those who had suffered.

The Quaid-e-Azam criticised the action and policy of the Viceroy and said: "I cannot understand how the Secretary of State for India, in that position with his two eminent colleagues and the Viceroy committed in cold blood a breach of faith and broke their solemn words. Having betrayed the Muslim League, the Viceroy has now completed the pre-arranged conspiracy with Congress and finally bypassed the Muslim League."



Offering Eid prayers at Karachi, 1947



Giving advice to Dr. Khan Saheb

In the middle of September 1946, the Viceroy, in a bid to secure the participation of the Muslim League in the interim government, invited the Quaid-e-Azam for further talks. Besides, as a result of the efforts of the Nawab of Bhopal, two Jinnah-Nehru meetings took place which broke down because of the changes made by Nehru in the formula, already agreed to by Gandhi in writing. The formula ran as:

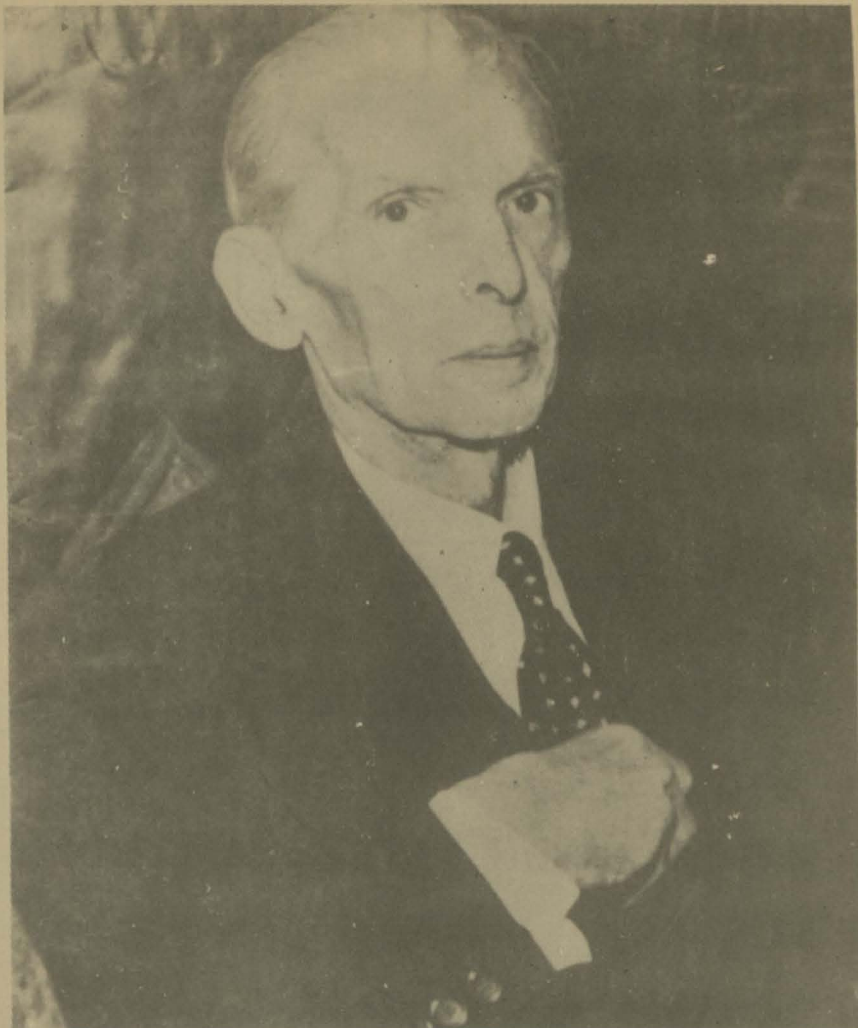
> "Congress does not challenge and now accepts the Muslim League is the authoritative representative of the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India. As such and in accordance with democratic principles, they alone have today the unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India."

The Quaid-e-Azam then had further discussions with the Viceroy and received better satisfaction on certain points than he had earlier The five League nominees, including one non-Congress Scheduled Caste, assumed office on October 25, 1946.

The League had joined the interim government in its own right and had not accepted the leadership of the Congress within the government. Nehru was appointed the Vice-President of the Council. His sole function was to preside over the meetings of the Council in the absence of the Governor-General. Neither in law nor in fact he enjoyed any special power or privilege. He, however, wanted powers which



Muslim League Legislators' Session, Delhi, April 1946



are usually enjoyed by the Prime Ministers but the League did not agree to that. The Home Member, who was a member of the Congress party, was misusing the propaganda machinery of the Government for purely party ends. The coalition, therefore, turned out to be an uneasy partnership, rather a sort of armed neutrality.

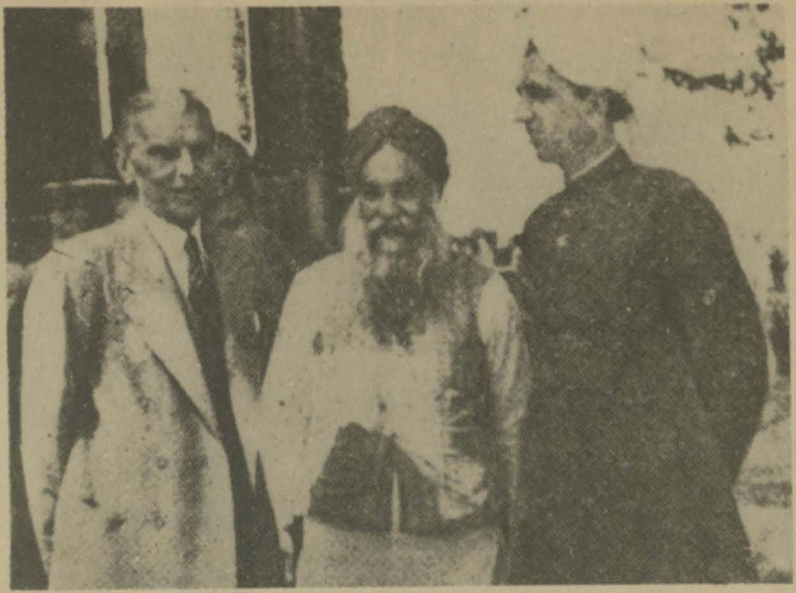
The Viceroy summoned the Constituent Assembly to meet on December 9. The Quaid-e-Azam criticising the move said:

> "It is quite obvious that the Viceroy is blind to the present serious situation and the realities facing him, and is entirely playing into the hands of the Congress and is appeasing them in complete disregard of the Muslim League and other organizations and elements in the national life of the country."

He asked the Muslim League members not to attend it.

Patron of sports





With Akali leader, Master Tara Singh and Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana

Meanwhile, communal riots occurred in Bombay, Ahmadabad and several cities, towns and villages of the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Madras and continued unabated. In places like Allahabad and Cawnpore, acts of violence had become endemic. In Calcutta stray cases of stabbing continued to occur. Muslim boatmen from Noakhali used to ply their profession in the canals of Calcutta and in the river Ganges. They had been killed during Calcutta carnage. There was, therefore, some trouble in Dacca and Naokhali. Hindus of the five districts of Saran, Patna, Gaya, Monghyr, and Bhagalpur in Bihar province rose against the Muslims. So did they in Garh Mukhteswar in Meerut district of the Untited Provinces. Thousands and thousands of Muslims were killed, their property looted and women abducted.

The above mentioned bloodshed, the no less abuse of power by the Congress, had compelled the British Government to call a conference of the Indian leaders in London. The Quaid-e-Azam and Pandit Nehru had reached London on December 3, 1946. A series of consultations were held. A statement was issued by the British Government on December 6 rejecting the Congress view that the provinces were entitled to choose their own grouping. And maintaining that the Mission's plan of May 16 envisaged decisions on the above points by the sections of the Assembly.

December 1946, at 10 Downing Street, London





Addressing a press conference in London, December 1946

It also declared that, if the Constitution was framed by an Assembly in which a large section of Indians were not represented, the British Government would not force it on unwilling parts of the country.

The Assembly met for the first time in Delhi on December 9, all its League members were absent. A chairman was elected, a procedure committee was appointed and an objejective resolution was introduced.

Resolutions of the Congress on December 22, 1946 and January 5, 1947 and speeches of the Congress leaders, Nehru in particular, again insisted on absolute freedom for each province to determine its own future and contended that the British Government's statement of December 6 departed from the Mission's plan.

A second session of the Assembly commenced on January 20, 1947. A steering committee and committees to deal with central subjects and the order of business was appointed. The objectives resolution had proclaimed an independent Federal Republic. The rules of procedure had been made in violation of the directives in the plan that the central constitution was not to be considered until the provincial and regional constitutions had been settled. On the other hand, the

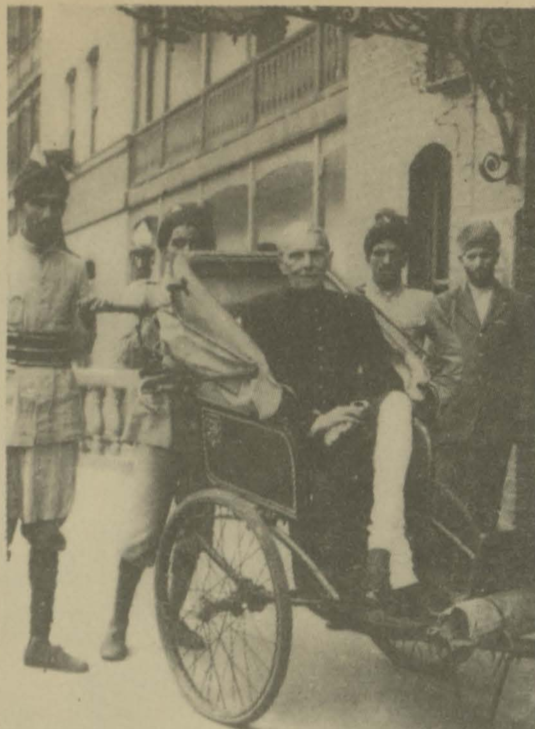


In Cairo at a dinner hosted by Nahas Pasha, December 1946

Congress was supporting the ministry of Khizar Hayat Tiwana in the Punjab that was imposing one restriction after another on civil liberties. On January 24, 1947, the Muslim League National Guards were declared unlawful and the police came down on the League Headquarters in Lahore. This was resisted and most of the top-ranking leaders of the League in the Punjab were arrested. The movement became irresistible and so wide-spread that the Tiwana ministry had to resign.



Speaking at a dinner hosted by Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah at Karachi Club on August 9, 1947



In Simla, 1946

On January 31, 1947, a League resolution protested that the Congress, instead of postponing the sittings of the Assembly until the settlement of fundamental points of principle, had acted on its own interpretation of the plan and had also forced on the Assembly such decisions which were outside the scope of the plan. The Congress had never accepted the plan, the League had withdrawn its acceptance, hence the British Government should declare that the plan had failed.



With Lord and Lady Mountbatten, 1947

On February 20, 1947, Clement Attlee, the British Prime Minister, had announced that power would be transferred at the latest in June 1948. He had hoped that the parties would cooperate in setting up a constitution creating authority or authorities to whom the transfer could be made. If they failed to do that, the transfer would be made either to a central government or to existing provincial governments or as appeared reasonable and in the interests of the Indian people.

Meanwhile there were behind the scene activities to get Lord Wavell replaced as Governor-General with a person of the choice of the Congress. Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre in their book "Freedom at Midnight" have revealed:

> "Although Mountbatten didn't know it, the ideal of sending him to India had been suggested to Attlee by the man at the Prime Minister's side, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps. It nad come up at a secret conversation in London in December, between Cripps and Krishna Menon, an outspoken



Leaders of the Muslim League and the Congress in Conference with the Viceroy, 1947



During the talks with the Viceroy, 1947 .

Indian left-winger and intimate of the Congress leader Jawaharlal Nehru. Menon had suggested to Cripps and Nehru that Congress saw little hope of progress in India so long as Wavell was Viceroy. In response to a query from the British leader, he had advanced the name of a man Nehru held in the highest regard, Louis Mountbatten. Aware that Mountbatten's usefulness would be destroyed if India's Moslem leaders learned of the genesis of his appointment the two men had agreed to reveal the details

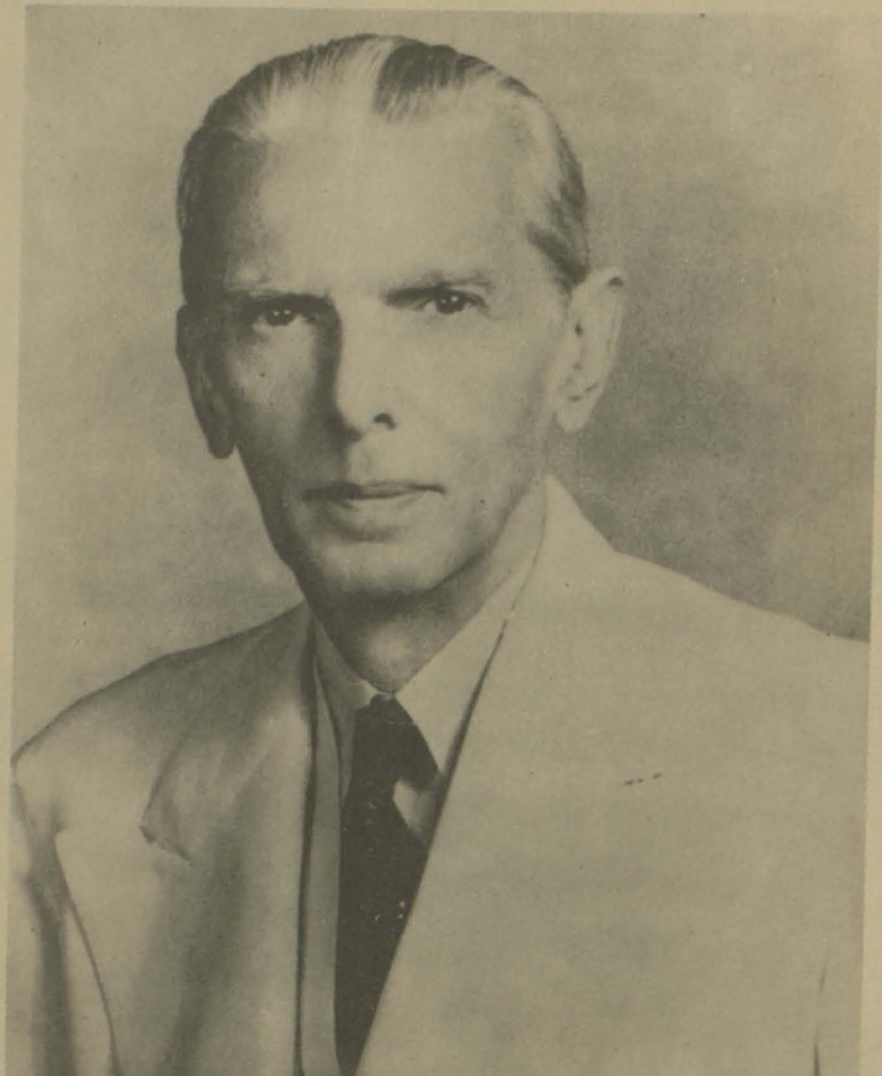
> of their talk to no one. Menon revealed the details of his conversation with Cripps in a series of conversations with one of the authors in New Delhi in February 1973, a year before his death".

On the other hand, Lord Wavell in his book "Wavell, the Viceroy's Journal" had disclosed thus:

> "The only thing I have to record from the India angle in the next few days is a talk with one of my staff. He said that there had been a leak from P.S.V's office; that George Abell's Indian stenographer, whom



Quaid-e-Azam and Jawaharlal Nehru with
Lord Mountbatten



M.A. Jinnah - 18/4/46



In his library in his Bombay residence



With Azzam Bey, Egyptian Ambassador in Pakistan

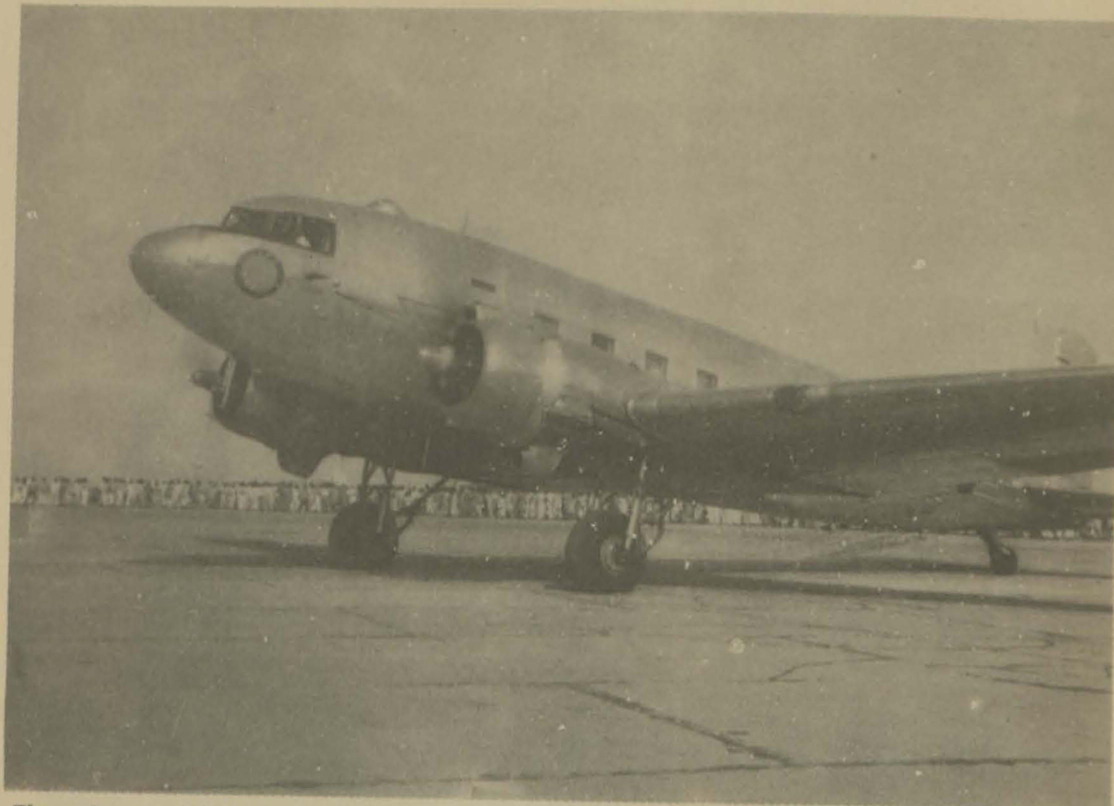
At a reception in Lahore, October 1947



he trusted absolutely though I had once or twice questioned the advisability of trusting any Indian with really secret stuff, had been passing copies of George's letters out to Congress; that had brought some home and showed to Cripps as evidence that my staff was at heart biased against Congress; and that this was largely responsible for my dismissal. Now if there is any truth in this, it does show an amazing mentality on the part of the Cabinet Ministers concerned. Instead of warning P.S.V. or myself of the leakage; and, if they considered that the letters which were produced showed disloyalty to H.M.G's policy on the part of P.S.V. or myself, confronting us with them and asking for an explanation, they allowed the leakage of secret correspondence to go on—or at least fail to warn us—and make arrangements to replace me more or less at Nehru's bidding."



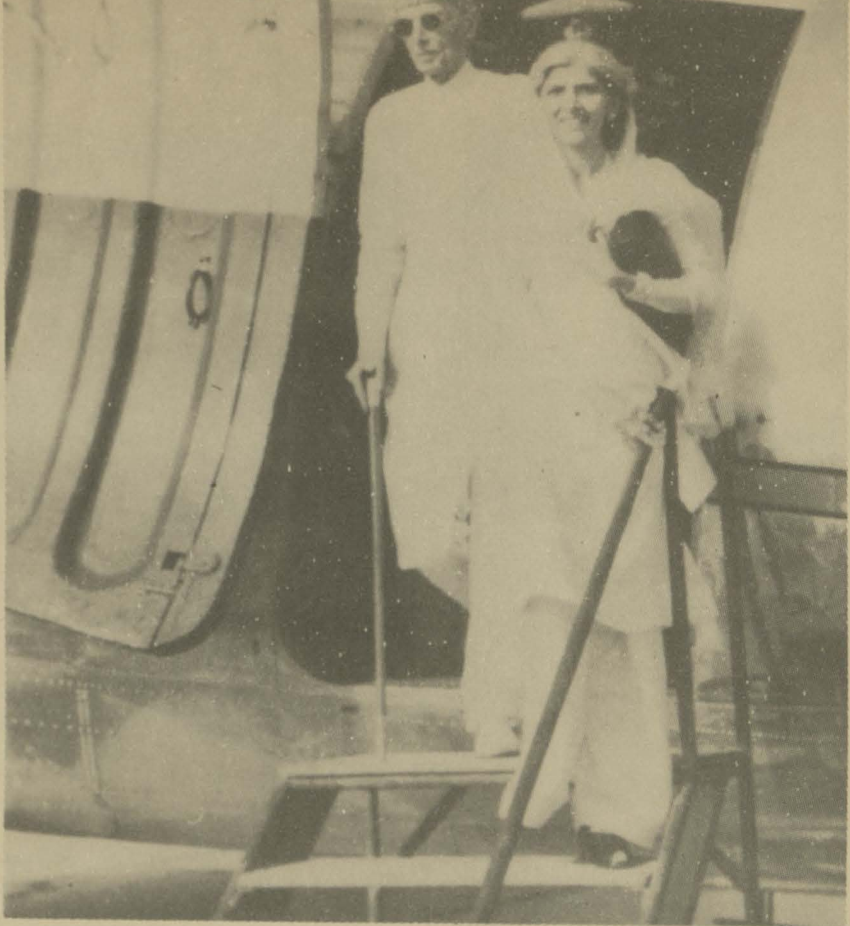
June 3, 1947. Broadcast from All-India Radio



The plane which brought Quaid-e-Azam and his sister, Madar-i-Millat Miss Fatima Jinnah, to Karachi on August 7, 1947

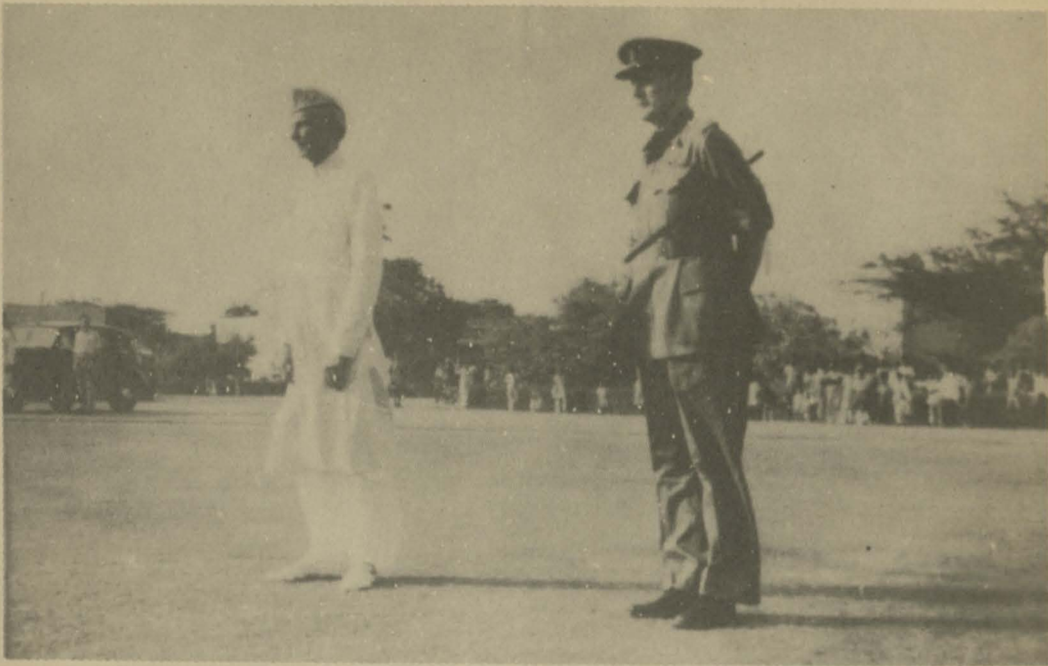
With the above background, Lord Louis Mountbatten took over as Governor-General of India on March 24, 1947. He was the man with biased opinion. Nehru was already his friend. In Mountbatten's own words:

> "My first meeting with him had been almost a year before, when he visited Singapore whilst I was still Supreme Commander of South East Asia. He knew



Setting foot on the soil of Pakistan. (below) Cheering crowd gathered at the airport to receive him





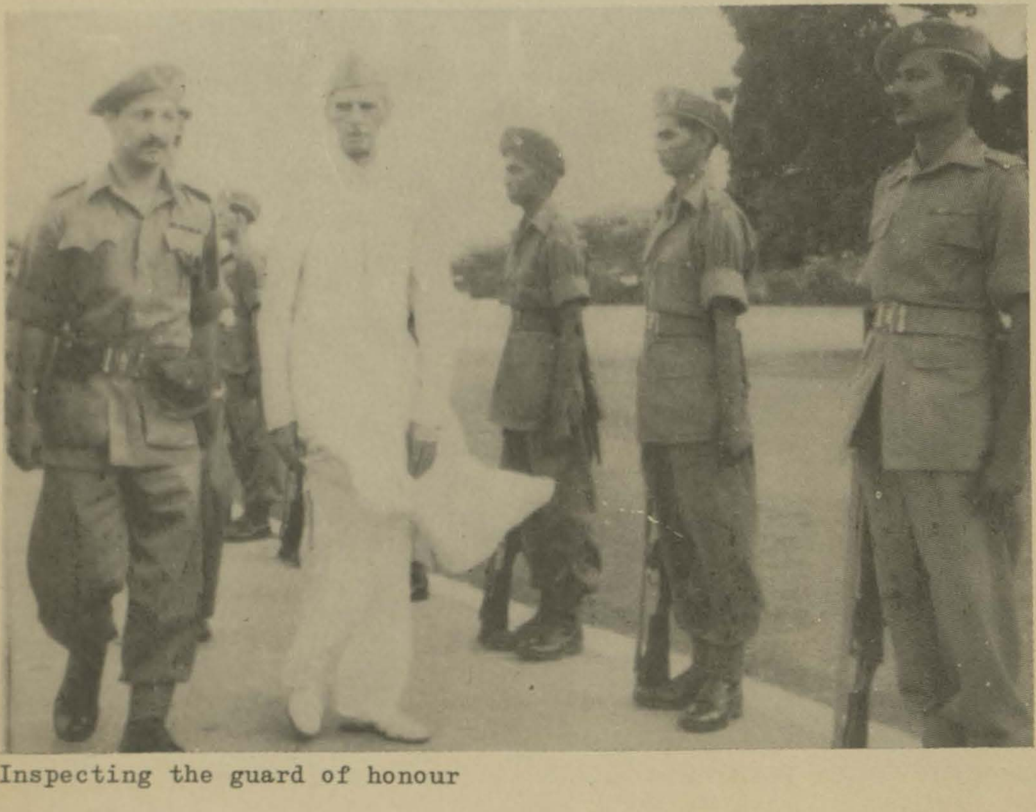
At the airport

Shaking hands with the Guard Commander

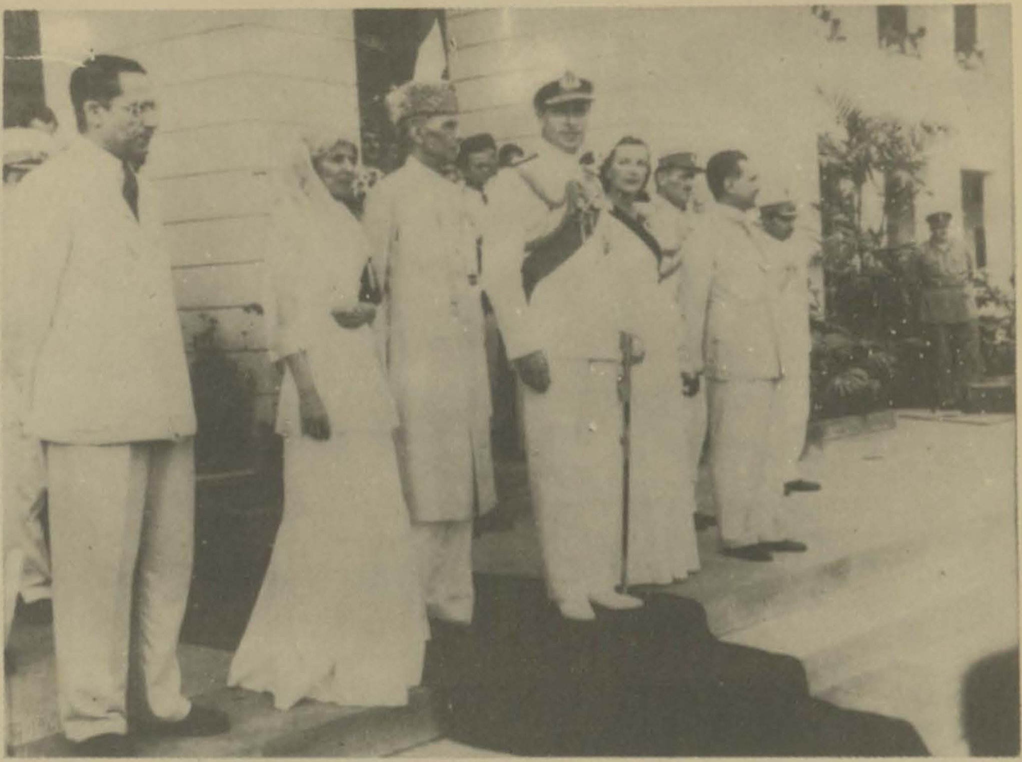


> now that he would get a fair deal from me. With Nehru the trust that I was trying to build up with the leaders was already there—and more than trust: friendship".

It was, therefore, obvious that the Musalmans could not get a fair deal from him.



Inspecting the guard of honour


The transfer of Power, August 14, 1947

Mountbatten held a series of talks with the political leaders. Having formulated his own plan, he submitted it to the British Government on May 3. Mountbatten, along with Nehru, was enjoying a holiday at Simla when the amended version of his plan arrived from London. He straight away showed it to Nehru in confidence. "Of course, I could never have thought of such a thing if we hadn't already been such good friends. This was something I could not possibly have done except on the basis of complete mutual trust" was admitted by him. Nehru flatly turned down

the next draft and said it would lead to the balkanisation of India and he would have nothing to do with it. Mountbatten, with the help of Nehru and V. P. Menon, prepared a new formula and left for London on May 18 to seek approval from the British Government. He returned to India on May 29, 1947.

On June 3 the Viceroy announced the scheme for the partition of India into two independent dominions. The Punjab and Bengal legislatures would each be summoned in two sections, one representing the Muslim majority districts, the other the rest. If either section voted



Qúaid-e-Azam addressing the Constituent Assembly

for partition, this would be effected by a boundary commission. Each section would decide whether its constitution should be settled by the existing Constituent Assembly or by a new Assembly.

The Sind Legislature would decide by which Assembly its constitution should be framed.

The future of North-West Frontier province would be decided by a refrendum and the views of Baluchistan would be ascertained by appropriate means. If Bengal were to be partitioned, a referendum would be held in the Sylhet district to decide whether it should be detached from Assam and integrated in the new province of East Bengal. The plan met with general acceptance.

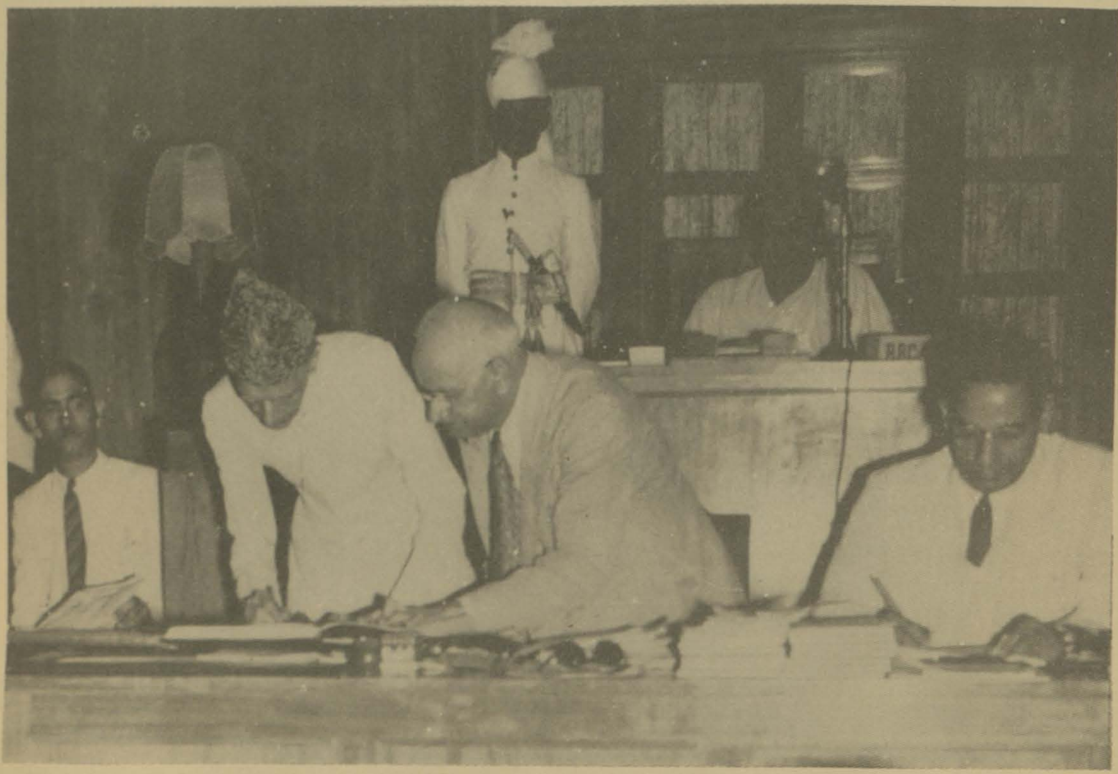
The eastern districts of Bengal and the western districts of the Punjab opted for Pakistan. The referendum in Sylhet went in favour of Pakistan; so was that in the North-West Frontier province. A joint meeting of Baluchistan representative bodies voted for joining Pakistan. To fix the frontiers of the new provinces of East Bengal and West Punjab, boundary commissions were appointed under Sir Cyril Radcliffe. Here again Mountbatten played his pro-Congress role and influenced Radcliffe to give away certain Muslim majority areas to Hindustan, particularly in the Gurdaspur district which had four tehsils of which only one, Pathankot, had a non-Muslim majority. The other three, Gurdaspur, Batala and Shakargarh, had Muslim majorities. This district was contiguous to the state of Jammu and Kashmir to which Mountbatten's trusted friend, Nehru, belonged. For the Indian Union, rail and road link with the state was only possible through the plains of this district. Had Radcliffe awarded Pathankot alone to India, still the access to the state was not possible. Radcliffe provided India with a link to the state of Jammu and Kashmir and paved way for the bitterest dispute between India and Pakistan. However, the award was accepted, not without criticism.

Nehru rewarded his friend by offering him to become the first Governor-General of Indian Dominion which Mountbatten unhesitatingly accepted. He aspired to be the Governor-General of Pakistan also. But his anti-Muslim activities came in his way and his dream could not come true.

In an interview over BBC Television, he has recently disclosed that it was he who was running the administration of India in the name of Nehru.

But to Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Mountbatten remained as an institution representing British sense of justice and fairplay in which he had great hopes. In fact his acceptance of Radcliffe and Field Marshall Auchinleck as the Chairman of the Boundary Commission and Supreme Commander of the Forces respectively was a further demonstration of that hope. On several occasions he frankly consulted Mountbatten on the suitability of British Officers on some of Pakistan's key jobs and in the case of East Pakistan, he even went to the extent of requesting Mountbatten to nominate a Governor for him. The Quaid strongly believed in the judicious quality of the British character. It is a separate matter that he was betrayed.

Signing the roll of the Constituent Assembly





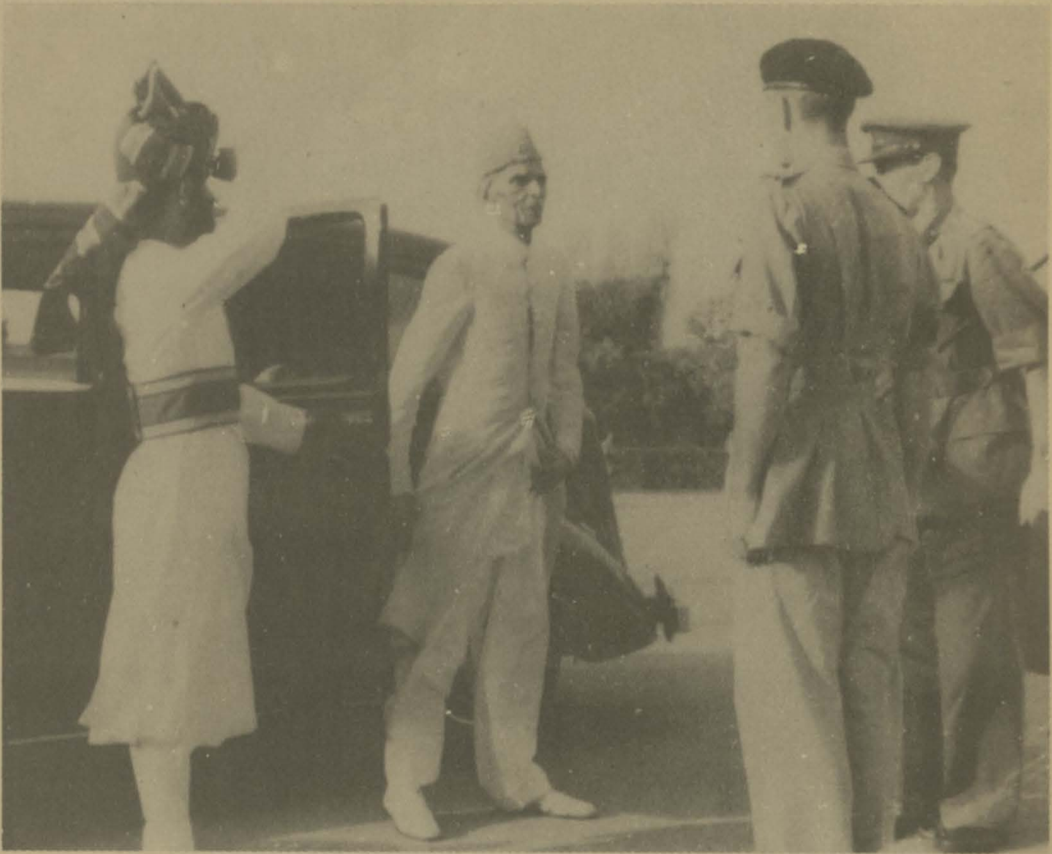
Attentively listening to a speech in the Constituent Assembly. Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani and Nurul Amin can also be seen in this picture.

The inauguration of Pakistan was a momentous occasion for all Muslims. On August 14, 1947, Mohammad Ali Jinnah took an oath as the first Governor-General of the new State of his own creation. It was no small honour that he should be chosen to head the largest Muslim state of eighty million people. Hundreds of thousands of messages, telegraphic and postal, poured in for him from all over the world and the big event was celebrated in all Muslim countries.

For Pakistanis, at home and abroad, the occasion was a hilarious one. Houses were lit up throughout the country. Public buildings and institutions, decorated with flags and flowers during the day, presented an appearance of bouquets of lights during the night. Crowds of happy poeple paraded the streets of principal cities and farmers in the rural areas held community feasts. The shouts of Quaid-e-Azam Zindabad and Pakistan Zindabad echoed from the remotest corners of the country. Special prayers were offered for the prosperity of the newly born State.



Taking oath as the Governor-General of Pakistan



Entering his official residence

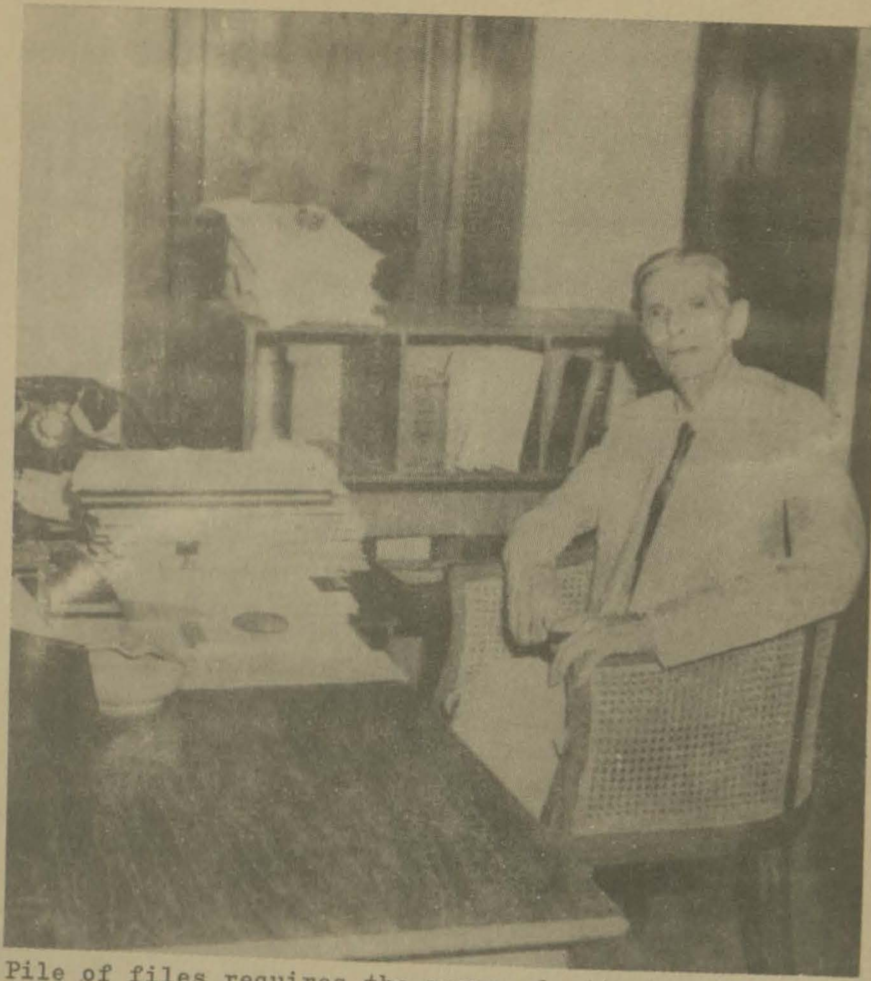
Jinnah's assumption of the office of the first Governor-General created a unique sense of independence among the people, particularly when India still clung to the old ties through the person of Mountbatten, in spite of the Hindu propaganda of their being anti-British. It is, therefore, evident that Hindus wanted freedom only under the umbrela of the British.

Quaid-e-Azam now turned himself to the problems of administration. His first consideration was naturally to ensure peace and to re-assure every citizen of Pakistan that the new State had brought progress and prosperity for all. While delivering a speech on the inauguration of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on August 14, 1947 he emphasised:

> "We appreciate the spirit in which those in the Government service at present and in the Armed Forces and others have so willingly and ungrudgingly volunteered themselves provisionally to serve Pakistan. As servants of Pakistan, we shall make them happy and

Inspecting a guard of honour at the G.G.House





Pile of files requires the personal attention of the Governor-General

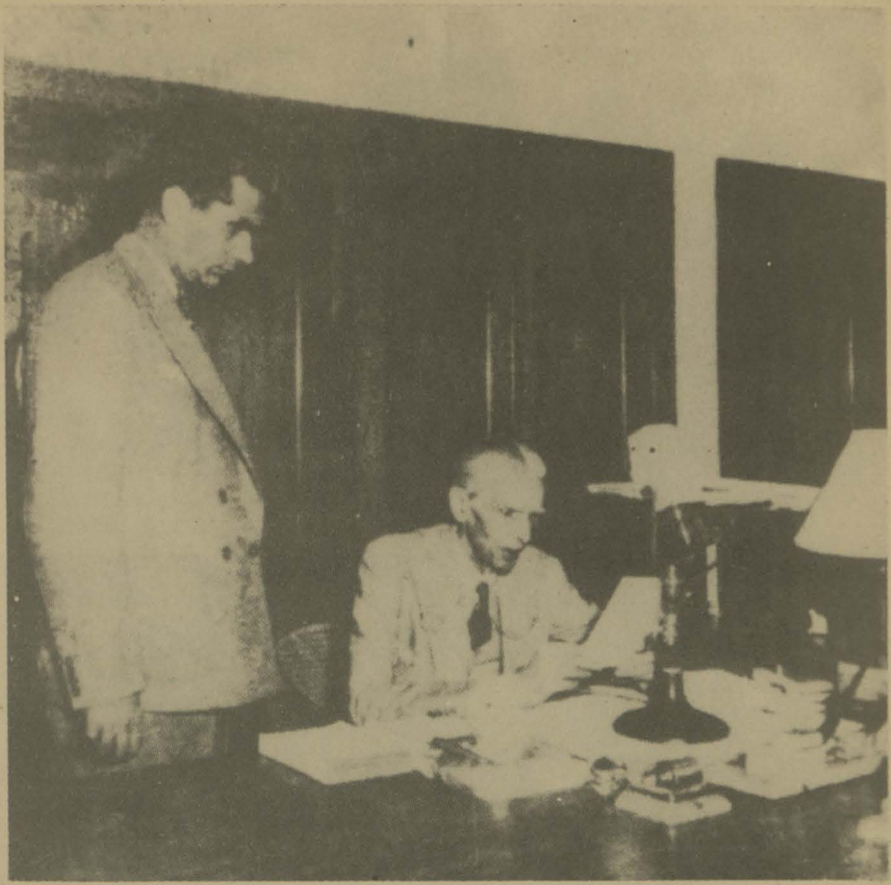
they will be treated equally with our nationals. The tolerance and goodwill that great Emperor Akbar showed to all the non-Muslims is not of recent origin. It dates back thirteen centuries ago when our Prophet not only by words but by deeds treated the Jews and Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs. The whole history of Muslims,

wherever they ruled, is replete with those humane and great principles which should be followed and practised."

In his first broadcast speech on August 15, the day the new State legally came into existence, he outlined the principles of administrative conduct.



With members of the minority communities



His first boradcast from Radio Pakistan, Karachi.

The happiness of the independence was shadowed with grief and sorrow on the calculated announcement of the Radcliffe Boundary Award. Relying upon the good intentions of the British people and in a spirit of goodwill, Quaid-e-Azam had given his assurance that whatever the decision of the Boundary Commission, he would abide by it. Radcliffe did not take part in the public sittings of the commission in which arguments were advanced by the counsels of the Muslim League

and other interested parties. He only studied the records of the proceedings and the vague term "other factors" encouraged exaggerated claims. The Quaid-e-Azam had received the information that as Radcliffe was required to take a decision in an undue hurry, he was likely to arrive at a conclusion that might prove harmful to to the Muslims by leaving out certain Muslim majority areas that should otherwise form part of Pakistan's territory. Radcliffe was actually busy in finalizing the already agreed plan of April 1, 1946, of the British to deprive Pakistan from all the major positions and strategic points of economic, political and military importance. They wanted to put Pakistan, right from the start, in such a state where it must agree to Joint Defence with India. In fact



Members of the Boundary Commission. Sir Cyril Radcliffe is in the centre



Enthusiastic people cheering the Father of the Nation

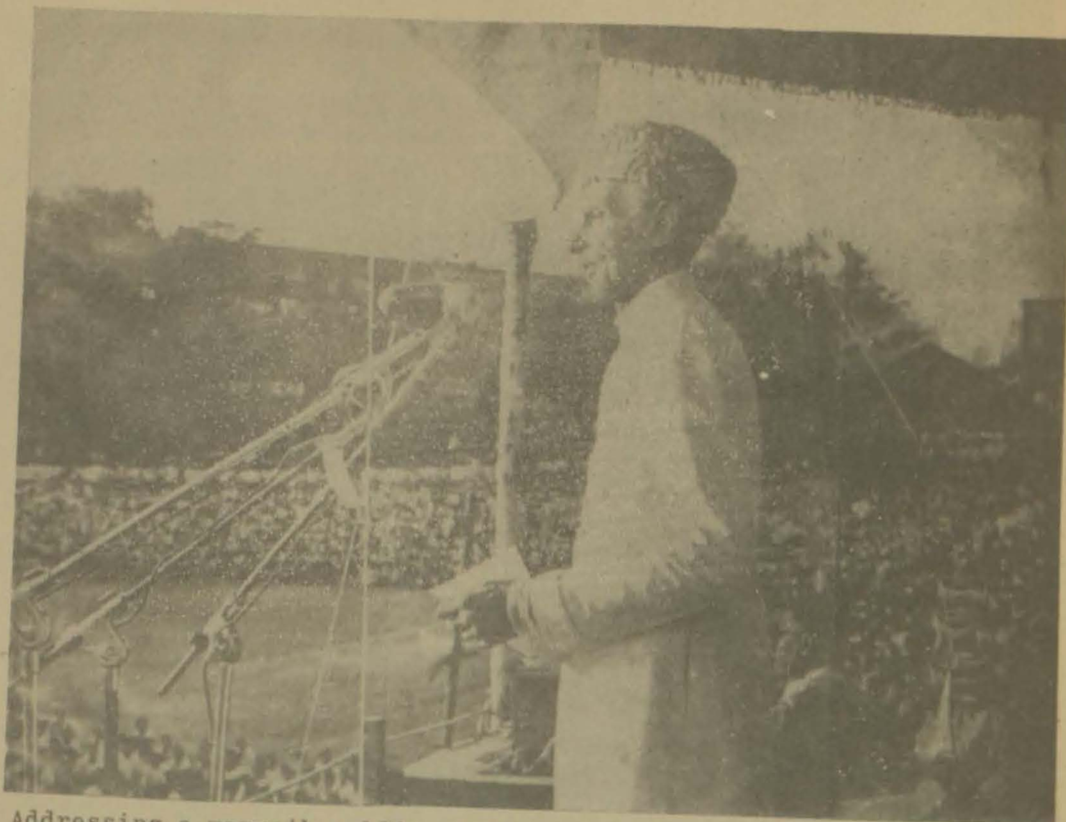
Justice Din Mohammad's disagreement with the commission was in the knowledge of the Quaid from the earliest stage and he was, therefore, in correspondence with Mountbatten. He never expected that Mountbatten's assurances, that due respect for the integrity of Pakistan would be paid in demarcating the boundaries on a geographically contiguous basis, were without any substance.

As a direct result of this manouvred award, a mass exodus of population began. This was no doubt the natural consequence of the partition, but had it remained in abeyance for some time, the massacre of the Muslims on a very large scale, looting their properties and abduction

of women, could have been checked considerably. And both the countries would have gained time to negotiate an agreement for a peaceful exchange of population. But the Anglo-Indian alliance was looking at Pakistan from a different angle. They wanted to strangulate Pakistan from the very start when the armed forces of its share were still abroad and the apportionment of assets like cash balances and foreign exchange was not yet done. Almost all the industrial units were located in the territories of India. Army, air force and navy headquarters were in Delhi and all the ordnance factories and all military stores depots were located in the Indian Dominion. These factors created numerous problems for Pakistan.



Freedom won at a terrible price. Massacred by maraunding bands, assailed by heat, hunger, thirst and fatigue, countless thousands never reached Pakistan safely.



Addressing a mammoth public meeting at University Grounds, Lahore, October 30, 1947

The public opinion in Pakistan can be well judged. The Quaid went to Lahore to passify the feelings of the people. No doubt, he said, the carving out of this independent sovereign Muslim State had suffered injustices. It had been squeezed in as much as it was possible and the latest blow was the "unjust, incomprehensible and even pervers" Award of the Boundary Commission. "It may not be a judicial but a political Award", he added, "but we had agreed to abide by it and as honourable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune, but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope."

The city of Karachi was chosen as the capital of the new State but the only visible symbol of the Central Administration was the Governor-General's House. The Government officials, who had opted for Pakistan, had to report for duty as soon as they reached Karachi but they did not know where to report. Not a single building was available and the first few offices that came into being were housed under trees or on pavements. Some imaginative persons pitched a few tents in open grounds and clerks brought their own stationery. They started work out of nothing. This inspiration went through like an electric currect starting from the Quaid himself.



The First Cabinet. (l to r) Fazlur Rahman, Ghulam Mohammad, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the Quaid-e-Azam, I.I.Chundrigar, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar and Pirzada Abdul Sattar

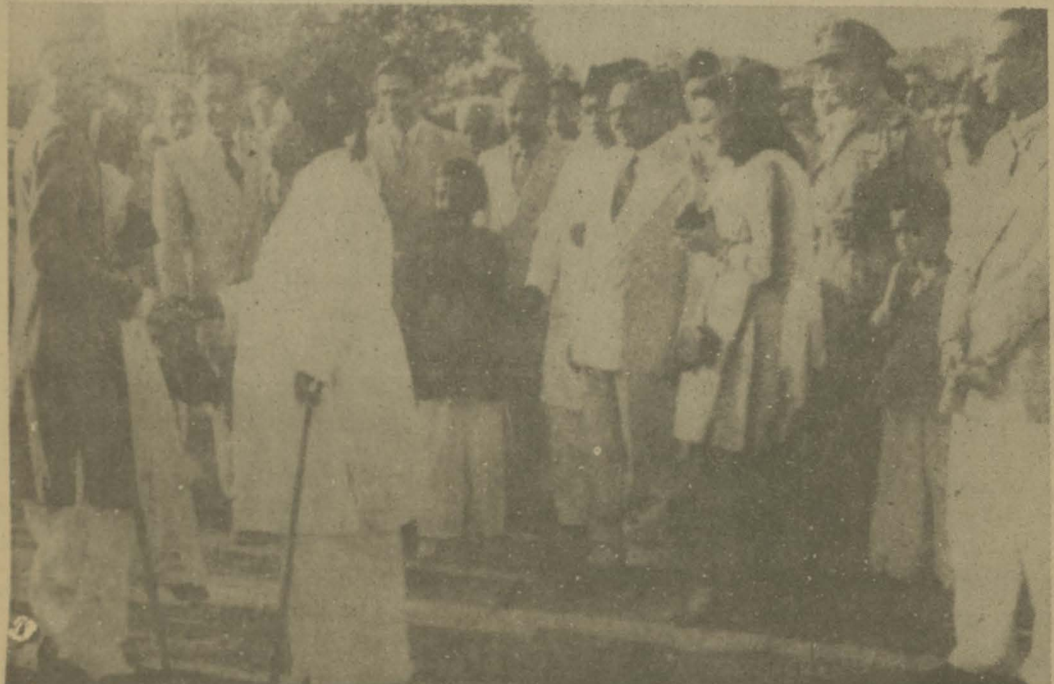

With the officers

In an Eid message to the nation on August 18, 1947, he said:

> "I fervently pray that God Almighty make us all worthy of our past and hoary history and give us strength to make Pakistan truly a great nation amongst all the nations of the world. No doubt we have achieved Pakistan, but that is only yet the beginning of an end. Great responsibilities have come to us, and equally great should be our determination and endeavour to discharge them, and the fulfilment thereof will demand of us efforts and sacrifices in the cause no less for construction and building of our nation than what was required for the achievement of the

cherished goal of Pakistan. The time for real solid work has now arrived and I have no doubt in my mind that the Muslim genius will put its shoulder to the wheel and conquer all obstacles in our way on the road which may appear uphill."

Gradually the Central Administrative institutions grew up under the direct guidance of the Quaid. The Constituent Assembly adopted, as an interim measure, the Government of India Act, 1935 as provisional constitution of Pakistan with the amendment that all appointments were to be made by the Governor-General and that all references to the Crown were to be omitted from the official oaths of affirmation. There was a general feeling of satisfaction that with Jinnah as the Head of the State nothing would go wrong. To Pakistanis, he was not only their Governor-General and Quaid-e-Azam, but also a patriarch. As such he could exercise a tremendous influence in the Centre as well



At Dacca Airport. Khawaja Nazimuddin received him


Addressing the Sibi Darbar, February 14, 1948

as in the provinces. He could appeal to his people and admonish them. Thus he was the main source of initiation and restraint.

At the age of 73, he worked harder than he ever did before. As the Governor-General, he had to negotiate instruments of accession with each of the States and in this he followed the more democratic principle of leaving matters entirely to the people of the states concerned. Junagarh was the first to accede and others soon followed suit. A standstill agreement was signed with the Maharaja of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. But the Maharaja, encouraged by the Indian Hindus, could not resist the temptation of acceding to India ignoring the wishes of the Muslims who were in majority. Pakistan

regarded it as a hostile act, as India had sent her troops to the state for the maintenance of the Hindu rulership. India's posture on Kashmir is the chief cause for tension between the two countries even today.

The Quaid selected his team on merits. His capacity to withstand influence of any kind was extremely great and in national considerations, he followed no principle other than service and ability. Addressing the Civil Servants on March 25, 1948, he said:

> "Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honour, integrity, justice and fair-play. If you do that, people will have confidence and trust in you and will look upon you as friends and well-wishers. I do not want



Meeting the foreign ladies



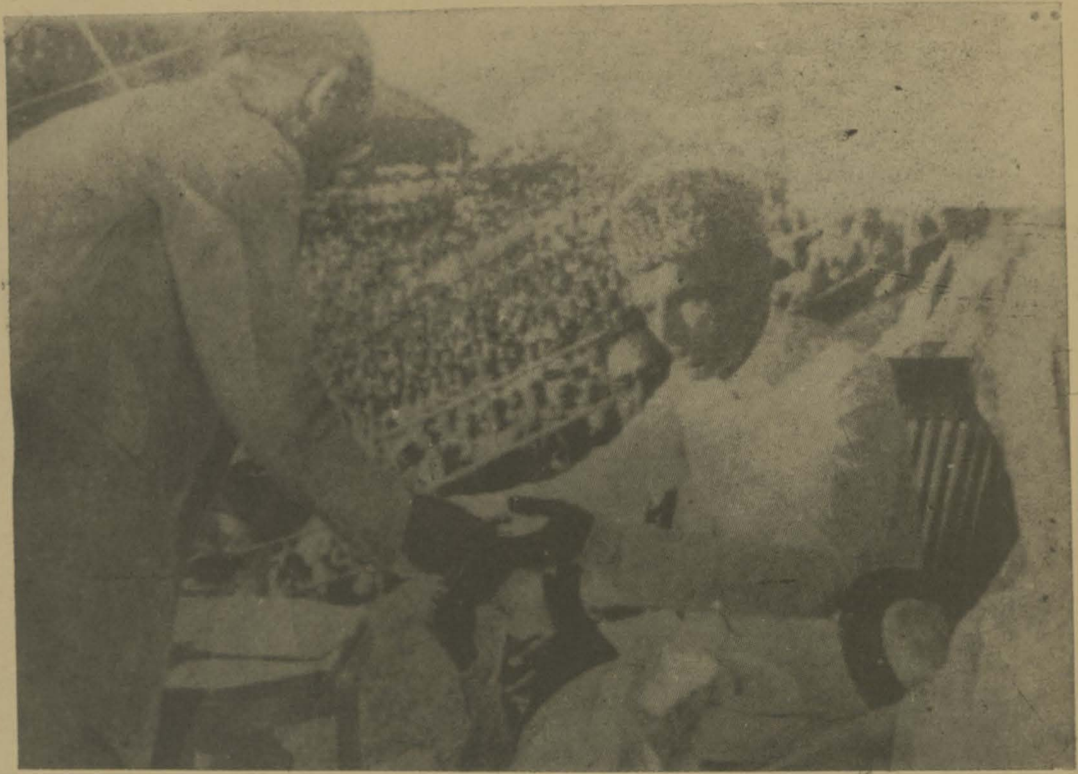
Talking to Army Chief

to condemn everything of the past, there were men who did their duties according to their lights in the service in which they were placed. As administrator they did do justice in many cases but they did not feel that justice was done to them because there was an order of superiority and they were held at a distance and they did not feel the warmth but they felt a freezing atmosphere when they had to do anything with the officials. Now that freezing atmosphere must go; that impression of arrogance must go; that impression that you are rulers must go and you must do your best with all courtesy and kindness and try to understand the people."

Quaid-e-Azam attached primary importance to education, the scientific and technical, in order to build up the future economic life. He believed that to compete with the fast moving world, greater attention should be paid to technical and vocational education. He issued orders to speed up the opening of more schools, primary, secondary and technical. He had a special regard for the students and the youth, and whenever he spoke to them he did so frankly and without any reservation. At the Dacca University convocation on March 24, 1948, he said:



With the Councillors of the Punjab Muslim League, 1947

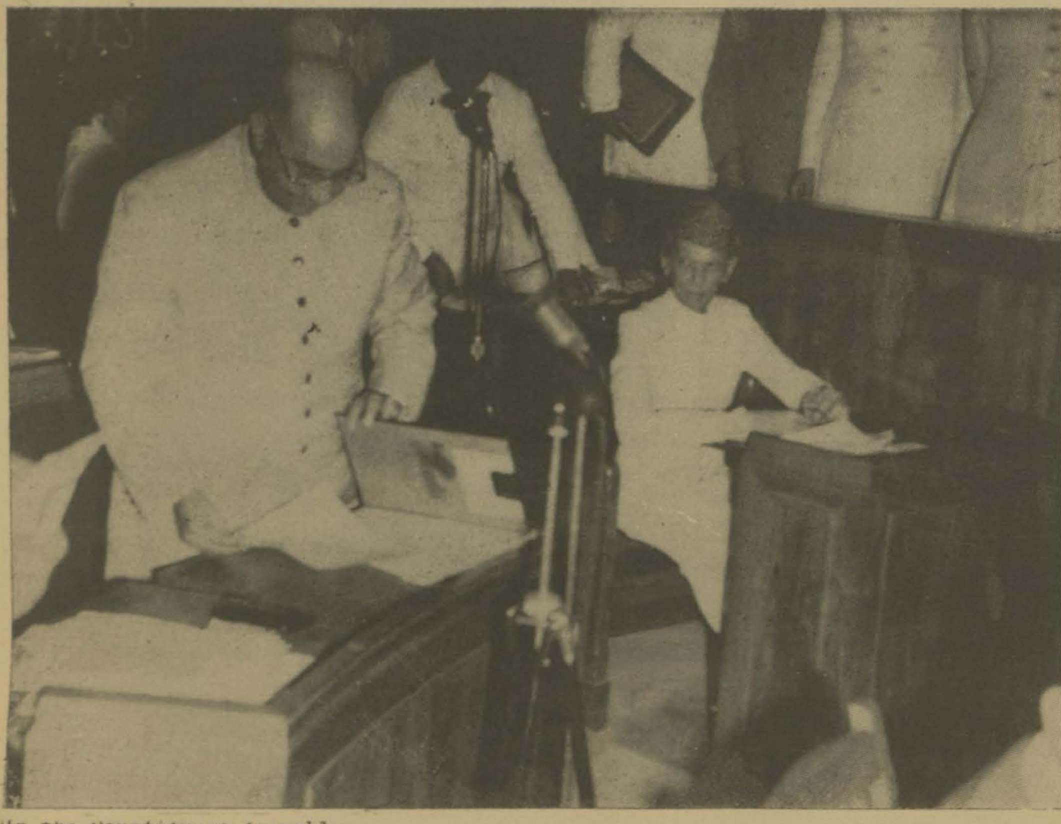


At a public reception at Chittagong, March 26, 1948

"In addressing you I am not here speaking to you as Head of the State, but as a friend, and as one who has always held you in affection. Many of you have today got your diplomas and degrees and I congratulate you. Just as you have won the laurels in your University and qualified yourselves, so I wish you all success in the wider and larger world that you will enter. Many of you have come to the end of your scholastic career and stand at the threshold of life. Unlike your predecessors, you fortunately leave this University to enter life under a sovereign, independent State of your own. It is necessary that

you and your other fellow students fully understand the implications of the revolutionary change that took place on the birth of Pakistan. We have broken the shackles of slavery, we are now a free people. Our State is our own State. Our Government is our own Government, of the people, responsible to the people of the State and working for the good of the State.

There is another matter that I would like to refer to. My young friends, hitherto you have been following the rut. You get your degrees and when you are thrown out of this University in thousands, all that



In the Constituent Assembly



A tribal chief presenting rifle to the Quaid

you think and hanker for is Government Service .... Now I want you to get out of that rut and that mentality and specially now that we are in free Pakistan. Government cannot absorb thousands. Impossible. ... Now I want that you must divert your mind, your attention, your aims and ambition to other channels and other avenues and fields that are open to you and will increasingly become so".

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah believed in quick industrial development so that Pakistan may be less dependent on others, provide more employment to the people and increase its own resources. Speaking on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the buildings of the Valika Textile Mills at Karachi on September 26, 1947, he said:

> "If Pakistan is to play its proper role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias. By industrializing our State, we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world for necessities of life, we will give more employment to our people and will also increase the resources of the State.



At a function



Allama Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, a philosopher poet.
Pakistan is the embodiment of his dream.

Nature has blessed us with a good many raw materials of industry and it is up to us to utilise them to the best of the State and its people."

While addressing the Karachi Chamber of Commerce on April 27, 1948, he observed that "the difficulties and the tribulations through which Pakistan has passed have helped to strengthen and temper the new

State into steel which is now, well and truly set upon the course on the uncharted seas of the future". He assured them that it was the intention and policy of the Government of Pakistan to let the channels of free trading flow as freely as possible. He continued: "Government will seek to create conditions in which industry and trade may develop and prosper by undertaking surveys of Pakistan's considerable resources of minerals, schemes for the development of country's water and power resources, plan for the improvement of transport services and the establishment of the ports and an Industrial Finance Corporation. Just as Pakistan is agriculturaly the most advanced country in the Continent of Asia, I am confident that if it makes the fullest and the best use of its considerable agricultural wealth in the building up of her industries, it will with the traditions of craftsmanship for which her people are so well known and with their ability to adjust themselves to new techniques, soon make its mark in the industrial field."

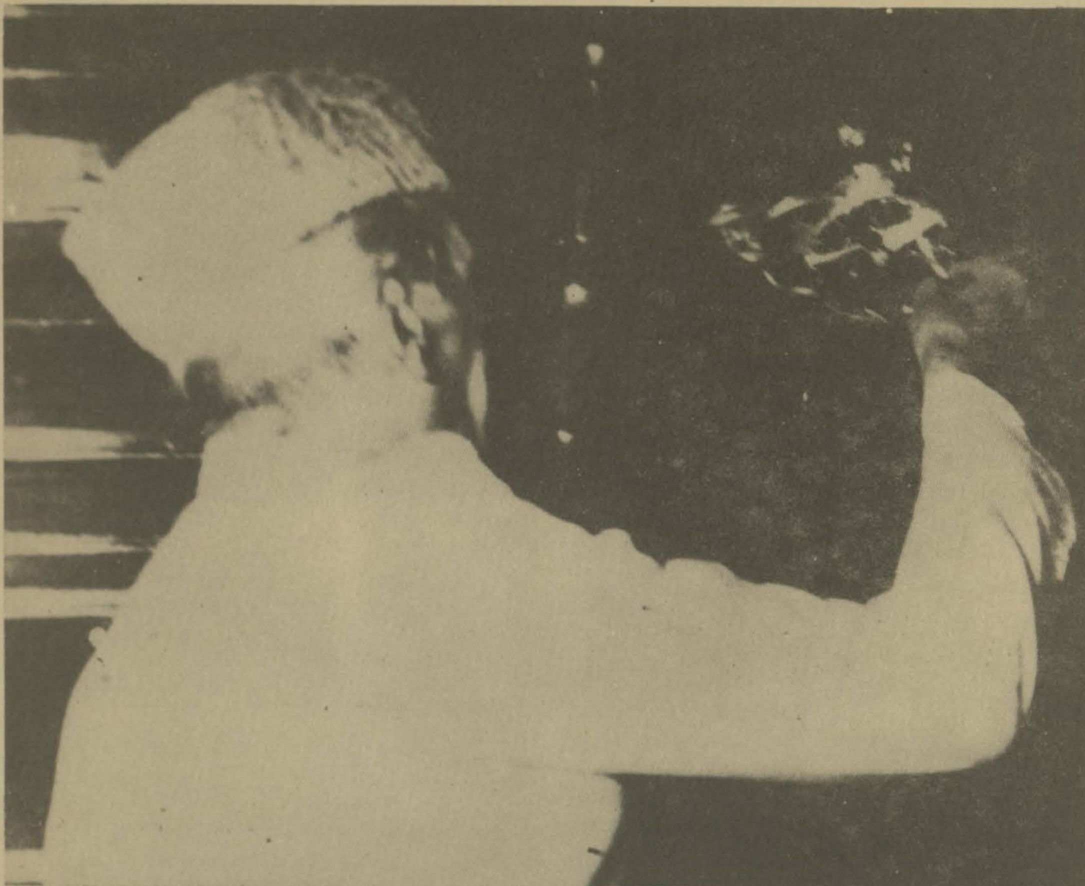
At Peshawar Airport, April 1948



While performing the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan on July 1, 1948, he observed: "I need hardly dilate on the important role that the State Bank will have to play in regulating the economic life of our country. The monetary policy of the bank will have a direct bearing on our trade and commerce, both inside Pakistan as well as with the outside world and it is only to be desired that your policy should encourage maximum production and a free flow of trade." He was keen to watch the work of the bank's research organisation in evolving banking practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life.



Inaugural speech at the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, July 1, 1948



Opening the lock to inaugurate the State Bank

At the time of partition, India refused to pay up Pakistan's share in cash balances and the new State started off with no currency or monetary system of its own. The national treasury did not even exist. Consequently Pakistan's civil services remained unpaid for a few initial months. But such was the patriotic spirit that no one grumbled. This, however, could not go on indefinitely. The Quaid took a decision which was in itself an unparalleled in the history of statecraft. "Take the public into confidence and tell them we have no money". he said

coolly. He was told that it would be disastrous to the new State and the enemies of Pakistan would make a capital out of it. But the Quaid-e-Azam was sure that the foundations on which Pakistan was built were not to be shaken by difficulties of this kind. Three businessmen of Karachi were called in and apprised of the position. The result was obvious. A bank was authorised to honour all government cheques. A word went round to the Muslims all over the world. Within three days money flew into Pahistan to the estimated value of rupees 600 million.

With the announcement of the June 3 Plan, a committee was set up which consisted of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar from Pakistan and Rajendra Prashad and Patel from Hindustan, to be presided over by Lord Mountbatten, to prepare the Flags of the two States. Quaid-e-Azam and Jawaharlal Nehru were



Receiving a purse

later associated with it after the Sind Assembly voted in favour of Pakistan. In the mornings the meetings were held in the Viceroy's House while Pākistani representatives used to meet at the residence of the Quaid in the afternoons to hold discussions among themselves.

According to Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, the Viceroy had suggested that like other British Colonies, one-fifth of the Pakistan Flag be left for Union Jack, and that the Indian leaders had already agreed to it. But the Quaid flatly rejected the proposal.



Discussing important matters with Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar.



Burmese Ambassador presenting credentials, January 21,1948

Pakistani representatives unanimously decided to retain the Muslim League flag in the proposed Pakistan Flag since the freedom was won under it. In addition a colour for minorities was proposed. Since various minority communities were living in Pakistan, it was not suitable to keep different colours in the Flag for each one of them. It was unanimously decided to keep white colour for the minorities in general. Thus the present Flag was finally proposed and was later approved by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan at its sitting of August 11, 1947 at Karachi.

Quaid-e-Azam had been advocating the right of Baluchistan to acquire a full-fledged provincial status. After the creation of Pakistan, Baluchistan became his direct responsibility. Addressing the Sibi Darbar on February 14, 1948, he said:

> "It is just six months we have achieved our Independence. During this period we have not so far seen a single day of peace. The attention of my Government, therefore, was kept riveted to other dangerous problems of more immediate and urgent importance. You will, therefore, forgive me if I was not able to attend to the affairs of Baluchistan as



Turkish Ambassador presenting credentials, March 4,1948


With Sir Ambrose Dundas, Governor of N.W.F.P.

speedily as I would have wished. Let me assure you, however, that I have not for one moment allowed the affairs of Baluchistan to slip out of my mind. I have thought and thought, considered and pondered over the ways and means of improving the lot of our people in this Province and of enabling them to secure for themselves the same position and the same political status, within the polity of Pakistan, which are open to their brethren in other Provinces as far as they could be brought about as practical proposition.

The Constituent Assembly may take some time to accomplish its task of framing the final constitution of our State. It is a stupendous task and it may take 18 months or two years before it can come into full operation. And so I wanted something to be done without delay for the period between now and the time when the new constitution would finally emerge and be inaugurated; something which would enable the people to share the responsibilities of their Government and give them a voice in its administration. After very careful consideration, I have decided to make a small but all the same an important move immediately to enable the people to associate themselves with the government of their province.



Minutely listening Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezai of Baluchistan



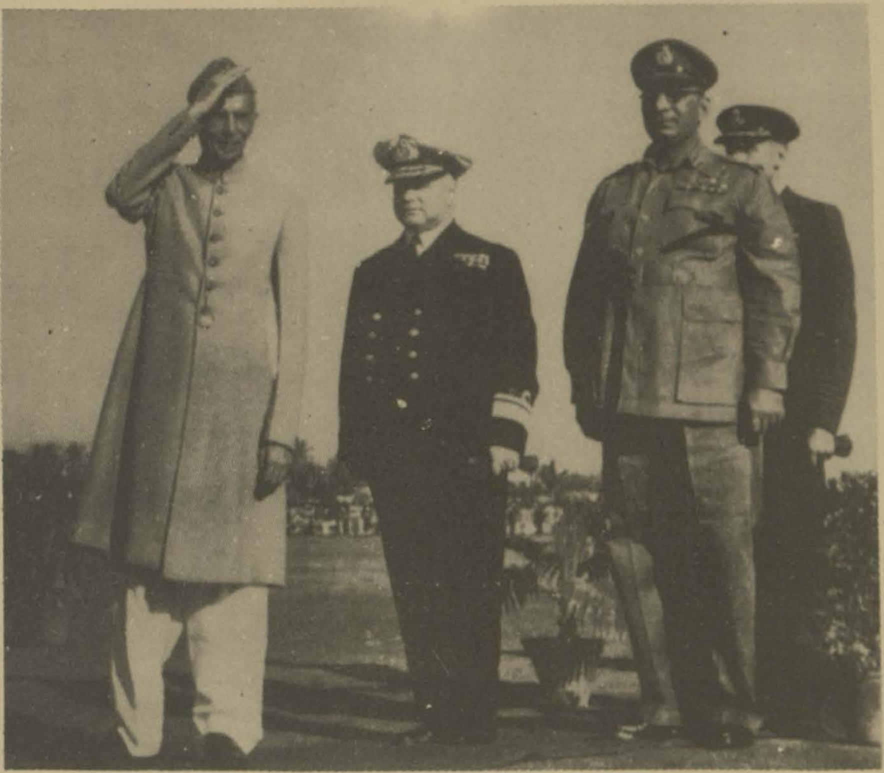
With Jamali Sardars of Baluchistan

For this purpose, I have decided to constitute a Governor-General's Advisory Council, a body which will enable the people to play their full part in the administration and government of their Province, and which will enable me as Governor-General to keep a close watch over the affairs of Baluchistan and to make the problems of the people of this great province my own special care as I am bound to do under the present provisional constitution of Pakistan."

Although the members of the Advisory Council were nominated, it was not a nominal body. It had the powers to advise the Governor-General on any matter which in its opinion was connected with the good of the Province. Similarly, the Governor-General referred all matters put before him by the Chief Commissioner for opinion and advice of the Council. The budget of the province was checked and scrutinized first by the Council in all its details and it was free to submit its recommendations to the Governor-General.



With the masses



The first salute

In the same spirit of democratic political advancement, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah took the unique step of withdrawing Pakistan's entire army, in December 1947, from the Frontier Tribal Areas and abolished the outpost of Razmak altogether. The Tribal Chiefs reciprocated this gesture of goodwill and expressed loyalty to Pakistan.

Pakistan's Defence Forces were always very close to his heart. They had played a heroic part during the influx of refugees from the Indian side of the border. Whenever he got an opportunity, he visited

different units. While addressing the Establishment of H.M.P.S. "Dilawar" on January 23, 1948, he said:

> "However strong the United Nations Organisation might be, the primary responsibility for the defence of our country will rest with us and Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and defenceless, in this imperfect world, invited aggression from others. The best way in which we can serve the cause of peace is by removing the temptation from the path of those who think that we are weak, and therefore, they can bully or attack us. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves so strong that nobody dare entertain any aggressive designs against us."



The last British troops leaving Pakistan



Autographing his portrait for the Officers and Sailors of the Pakistan Navy

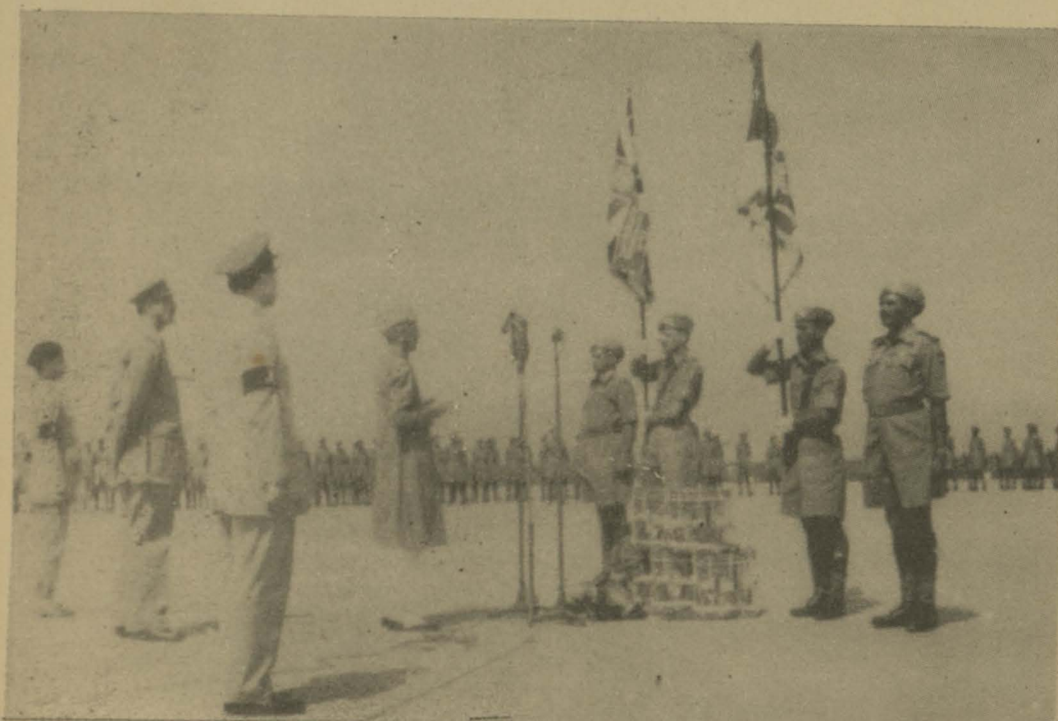
Again, on February 21, 1948, while addressing the Officers and men of the 5th Heavy Ack Ack and 6th Light Ack Ack Regiments in Malir, he said:

> "We have won the battle for Pakistan's freedom but the grimmer battle for the preservation of that freedom and building it on a firmer and sounder basis is still in progress and that battle has to be fought to a successful conclusion if we are to survive

as a great nation. Nature's inexorable law is 'the survival of the fittest' and we have to prove ourselves fit for our newly won freedom. You will have to be alert, very alert, for the time for relaxation is not yet there. With faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty, there is nothing worthwhile that you cannot achieve."

On April 13, 1948, the Quaid visited an Air Force unit at Risalpur. Addressing its officers and men, he said:

"There is no doubt that any country without a strong Air Force is at the mercy of any aggressor. Pakistan must build up her Air Force as quickly as possible. It must be an efficient Air Force second to none and must take its right place with the Army and the Navy in securing Pakistan's defence.



Presenting Regimental Colours



With the soldiers

But aircraft and personnel in any number are of little use, unless there is a team spirit within the Air Force and a strict sense of discipline prevails. I charge you to remember that only with discipline and self reliance can the Royal Pakistan Air Force be worthy of Pakistan."

The same day he addressed the officers and men of the 3rd Armoured Brigade, the only of its kind in the Pakistan Army, he said:

"Since the establishment of Pakistan almost every unit of this Brigade has been reformed, and within this short period of 8 months you have knit yourself

into a formidable team. All this happened while you were continuously being called upon to perform multifarious duties, such as evacuating millions of stranded Muslims from the Eastern Punjab and states, and maintaining law and order within your own borders. This is a great achievement in itself and can only be attributed to the high morale, integrity, selfless devotion to duty and loyalty. I have no doubt that you will always be prepared to take on any hazardous duty which you may be called upon to perform."



At a reception in conversation with Field Marshal Auchinleck and Major-General Akbar Khan



Decorating a soldier.

Cavalry had always been the spearhead of the Army. This is no less true in these days of mechanization than it was in the days of horses. The Quaid, on the same day, addressed the officers and men of Pakistan Armoured Corps Centre at Nowshera and said:

> "Do not forget *espirit de corps*—pride in your Regiment, pride in the Corps as a whole, and pride in and devotion to your country—Pakistan. Pakistan depends on you and puts her faith in you as defenders of your country. Be worthy of her. This Army was built up and made its reputation due to the devotion

and bravery of your fathers and grand-fathers. Make up your minds to be worthy sons."

While presenting Regimental Colours to the 2/15th Punjab Machine-Gun Regiment at Peshawar on April 15, 1948, he advised: "Live always true to the ideals to which you have just dedicated yourselves afresh—to the service of Pakistan, and make your contribution to the protection of the weak and to the hallowed memory of your comrades and thus enhance the glory of Islam."

In a broadcast talk to the people of the United States of America on Pakistan, recorded in February 1948, he gave outlines of the Foreign Policy of his government. He said:

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or



Pakistan Day march past



·with a diplomat

nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.

During the last five months of its existence, Pakistan has had to face terrible trials and tribulations and to suffer tragedies which are almost without parallel in the history of mankind. We have, however, withstood these calamities with courage and fortitude. Through our perseverence, labour and sacrifice we will make Pakistan into a great and powerful nation. Pakistan has come to stay and no power on earth can destroy it."



Receiving credentials



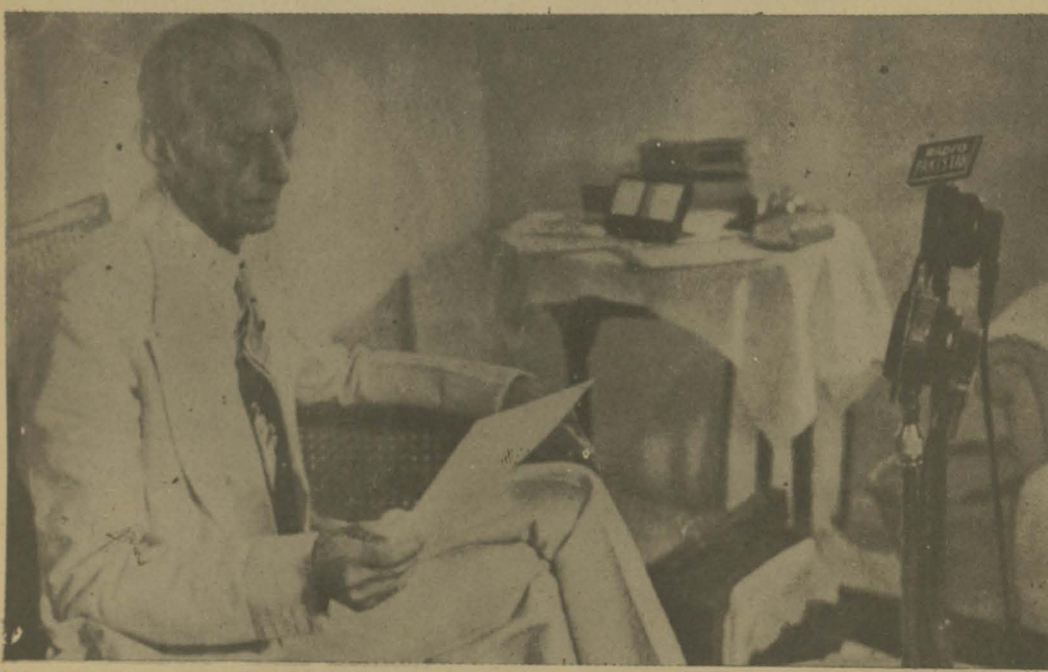
Receiving medical attention on his way to office

The affairs of the State had put too much strain on its Founder and since early 1943 he had been keeping extremely indifferent health. Contrary to his doctors' advice, he worked almost without a break. On July 1, 1948 he inaugurated the State Bank of Pakistan and this was his last public appearance.

Soon afterwards he was overtaken by his last illness and he went to Ziarat. On September 11 he came down to Karachi a few hours before he left Pakistan behind in tears to mourn his death for ever.

In his last message on the occasion of the first anniversary of Pakistan on August 14, 1948, he gave a prophetic touch of farewell:

> "Nature has given you everything; you have got unlimted resources. The foundations of your State have been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly as you can. So go ahead and I wish you God speed! Pakistan Zindabad."



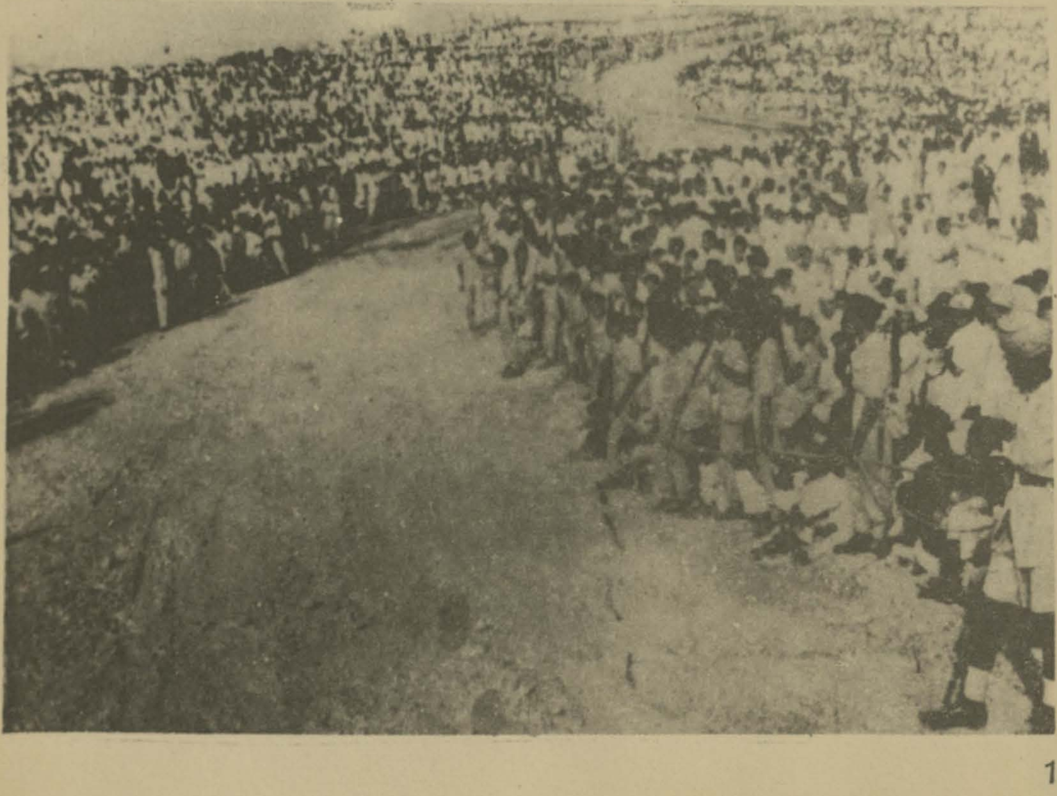
His last prophetic broadcast to the nation

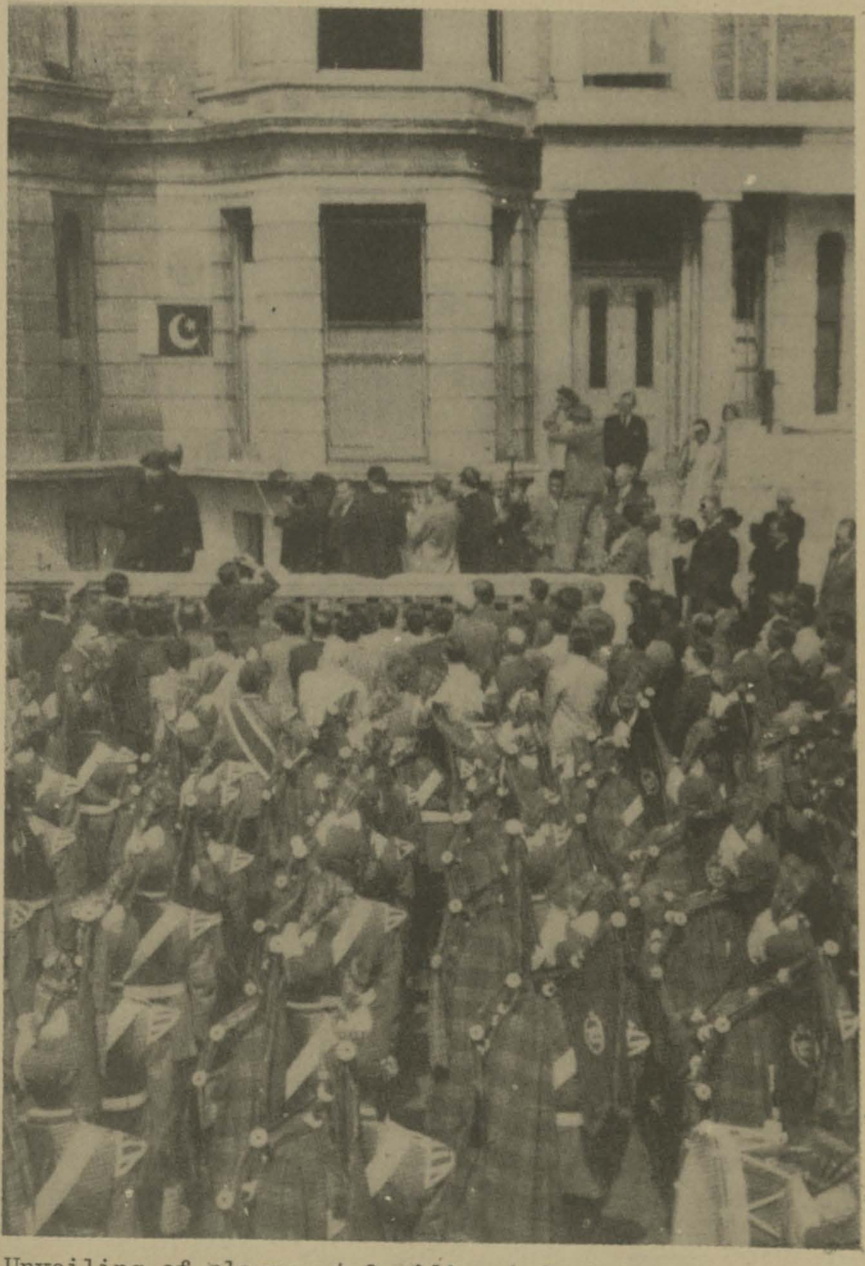


Bidding farewell to the nation

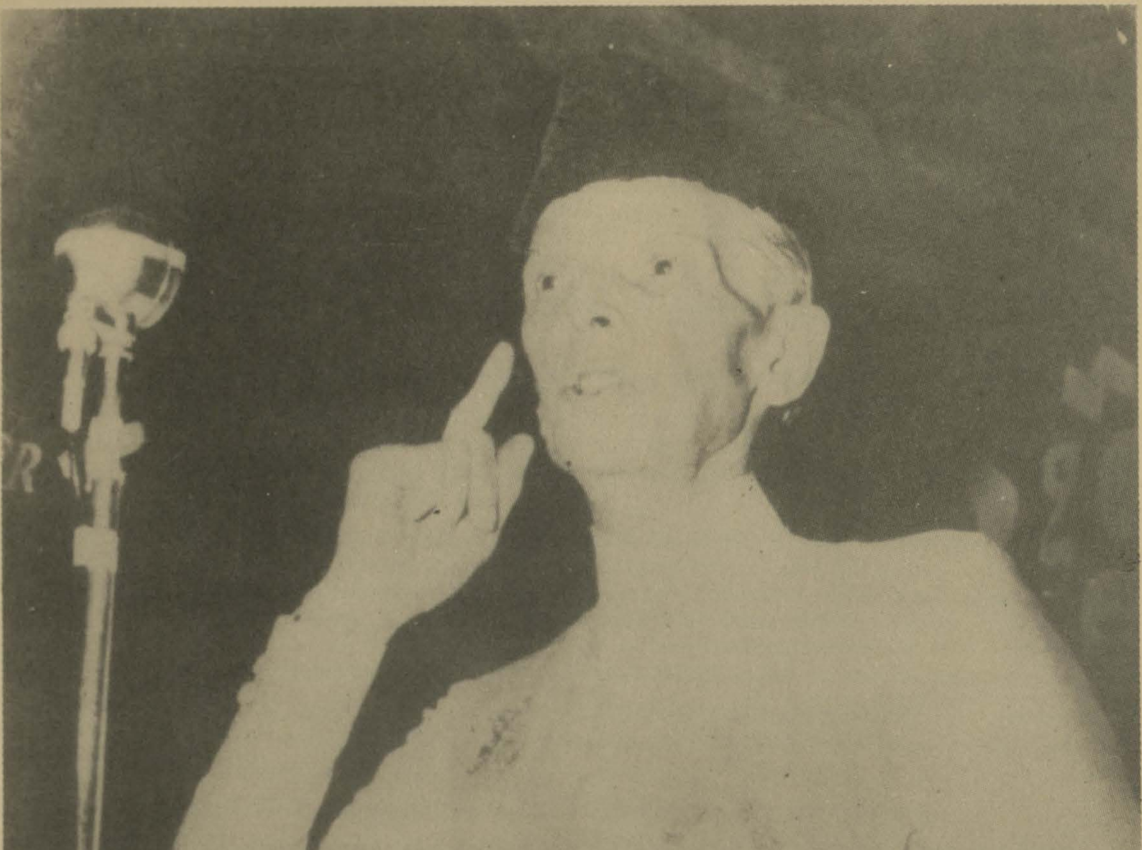


His last journey





Unveiling of plaque at Quaid's student-days lodging at 35, Russell Road, London, 1955



"We Musalmans believe in one God, one Book, one Prophet, so we must stand united as one nation. You know the old saying - In unity lies strength, united we stand, divided we fall."

CHRONOLOGY

1876 Born December 25 at Karachi.

1887 Joined Sind Maderassatul Islam, Karachi, July 4.

1893 Joined Lincoln's Inn, June 5.

1896 Barrister-at-Law, April 28.

1897 Legal practice, Bombay High Court.

1900 Presidency Magistrate, May 3 - November 3.

1902 Started his political career.

1906 Attended the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress.

1909 Elected unopposed to Imperial Legislative Council.

1910 Supported a resolution on Indentured Labour for Natal in the Legislative Council.

1911 Attended a conference at Allahabad for rapprochement of Hindu-Muslim question; introduced Musalman Wakf Validating Bill in the Legislative Council, March 17.

1912 Spoke on the System of Police Administration in the Legislative Council, March 17; Elementary Education Bill, April; attended the meetings of All-India Muslim Educational Conference and its Foundation Committee at Lucknow, December 28-29; Bankipur Congress Session, December 26; Bankipur All-India Muslim League Council, December 31.

1913 Attended Lucknow Session of All-India Muslim League as a guest, March 22-23; left for London, May; founded Students' Central Association, June 28; enrolled as a member of the Muslim League, October; left for home, November; attended Karachi Congress Session, December 27; attended Agra Session of All-India Muslim League for the first time as an official member, December 30-31.

1914 Left for London as a member of Congress Deputation, May; issued a statement on the reconstitution of India Council, June 3.

1915 Attended Bombay Session of the All-India Muslim League, December 30.

1916 Congress-League dialogue at Allahabad, April; joint meeting of the Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, at Calcutta, October; attended Lucknow Sessions of both the Congress and the Muslim League, December 30-31; presided over the Muslim League Session and Lucknow Pact was signed.

1917 In the Legislative Council, spoke on Indian Defence Force Bill, February; on Primary Education, February 28; Imperial Budget, March 23; on Administrative and Legislative Systems in the Punjab, September; on simultaneous holding of examinations for I.C.S. in India and England, September 21; on Indian Civil Service, September 29; on working of the Indian Railways, September 25; joint meeting of the Council of the Muslim League and the Congress Committee at Allahabad, October 6 demanding self-government; attended Congress and Muslim League Sessions in December.

1918 Married Rutty, April 18; cross swords with Lord Willingdon during Provincial War Conference at Bombay, June; led a demonstration against Lord Willingdon, and assaulted by police, December 11.

1919 Resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council in protest against the Rowlatt Act.

1920 Left Congress; presided over an extraordinary session of the Muslim League at Calcutta, September 7; elected permanent President of the All-India Muslim League.

1927 Presided over a meeting of Muslim leaders in Delhi and agreed to joint electorates, with certain conditions, for Hindu-Muslim unity March 20; presided over Calcutta Session of the Muslim League, December 30.

1928 Motilal Nehru Report criticised; an attempt made for rapprochement of Hindu-Muslim question at All Parties Convention held at Delhi in December.

1931 Attended Round Table Conference and stayed back in England till April 1934.

1935 Re-organised and re-vitalized the Muslim League.

1936 Decided to take part in the elections under the Government of India Act of 1935; Central Parliamentary Board formed; whirl-wind tour of the whole country; made Muslim League a mass movement; befitting victory in the elections.

1937 Presided over the 25th Session of the Muslim League at Lucknow, October 15; League's creed changed from full responsible government to full independence.

1938 Jinnah-Nehru correspondence on League-Congress differences; Jinnah-Gandhi correspondence on Hindu-Muslim question; presided over Special Session of the Muslim League at Calcutta on April 17-18; presided over Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference at Karachi.

1939 League appointed a committee to examine various proposals in favour of partition.

1940 Historic Lahore Session of the Muslim League demanding Pakistan March 22-24; people conferred the title of QUAID-E-AZAM; life-time work for Hindu-Muslim unity evaporated like thin air.

1942 Gandhi asked the British to "Quit India". Quaid-e-Azam retorted "Divide and Quit"; arrival of Cripps Mission and meetings with Quaid-e-Azam; Cripps proposals rejected as commitment to partition was not unequivocally conceded; Congress starts non-cooperation movement; League condemned this movement.

1943 C. Rajagopalachari Formula not approved; Linlithgow replaced by Wavell as Viceroy of India.

1944 Attempt on the life of Quaid-e-Azam by a Khaksar named Rafiq Sabir Mozangvi; Jinnah-Gandhi meeting.

1945 Expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council; Talks failed as neither the Viceroy nor the Congress conceded the League's claim to nominate all the Muslim members.

1946 League's victory in the elections; emerged as the only representative body of the Muslims of India; arrival of the British Cabinet Mission; tripartite Simla Conference, May 5-13; Congress for united India with Hindu majority rule; League rejected the Mission's Plan; Mission's statement of May 24 stating that the grouping of the provinces was an essential feature of the Plan; League accepted the Plan; Congress asserted the right to modify the Plan after independence; League forced to withdraw its acceptance; League decided for Direct Action, July 29; Viceroy announces the formation of the Interim Government, August 24; Congress invited to form government and was installed in office, September 2; Black Day observed by the Musalmans of India; Jinnah-Wavell talks, mid September; Muslim League recognised as the only representative body of the Musalmans of India; Muslim League joins Interim Government, in its own right, October 25; Constituent Assembly summoned on December 9 but the Quaid asked the Muslim League members not to attend it; Communal riots throughout India killing thousands of Muslims; Quaid left for London on invitation from British Government, December 3 and returned on December 19.

1947 Punjab Government declared Muslim League National Guards as unlawful body; Agitation against Khizar Ministry; Khizar resigned, March 2; Lord Wavell dismissed and Lord Mountbatten took over as Viceroy, March 24; Mountbatten's talks with the Quaid-e-Azam; Partition of India announced, June 3; Karachi to be the Capital of Pakistan, June 19; Indian Independence Act passed by House of Commons, July 4; Quaid-e-Azam's arrival in Karachi, August 7; addressed Pakistan Constituent Assembly, August 11; First Governor-General of Pakistan, August 14; Eid message to the Nation August 18; addressed a Public meeting at University grounds Lahore, October 30; birthday celebrated, December 25.

1948 Address to H.M.P.S. "Dilawar", January 23; addressed Sibi Darbar and announced important reforms for Baluchistan, February 14; addressed Officers and men of 5th Heavy Ack Ack and 6th Light Ack Ack Regiments in Malir, February 21; addressed a mammoth public meeting at Dacca, March 21; Pakistan's first currency notes and coins approved, April 1; visited Air Force units at Risalpur, April 13; addressed officers and men of 3rd Armoured Brigade, April 13; visited Pakistan Armoured Corps Centre at Nowshera, April 13; presented Regimental Colours to 2/15th Punjab Machine-Gun Regiment at Peshawar, April 15; opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, his last public appearance, July 1; left for Ziarat for convalescence, July 14; message to the nation on first independence day, August 14; returns to Karachi, September 11; breathed his last, September 11 at 22.45 hours.